

TEXTUAL PLURALITY BEYOND THE BIBLICAL TEXTS

THE present issue of *Revue de Qumrân* offers the proceedings of a conference held in Metz, October 17–19, 2017. This conference is the result of the collaboration of a network of scholars and research projects that focus on various aspects of textual plurality of the Hebrew Bible and beyond (see the presentation of the consortium and its activity at <http://textualplurality.eu>). Within the framework of this international consortium, a French-German collaborative project entitled PLURITEXT is funded by the French Research Agency (ANR) and the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft (DFG) and supported by the Maison des Sciences de L'homme Lorraine (Institute for Social Sciences and Humanities) and the Center of Research Écritures (EA 3943). This conference was the first of this joint research project. It has been followed by a conference on “Scribal Practices and Textual Pluralities” in Paris, November 5–7, 2018 and will be followed by a conference on the concept of *Urtext* (October 2019, in Metz) and a conference dealing with pragmatic questions related to critical editions of ancient Jewish texts (2020, in Madrid).

The basic principle of our consortium is to bring together practitioners involved in critical editions, lexicographers, and specialists in translation studies to rethink the theoretical framework of critical edition and textual formation and transformation in ancient Jewish literature. Its aim is to apprehend the difficult question of textual plurality from both a theoretical and a pragmatic point of view.

By the term “textual plurality” we want to express and theorize the irreducible plurality of textual witnesses to writings from ancient Jewish literature. The discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls in the middle of the twentieth century, of the Cairo Genizah at the end of the nineteenth century, and the renewed interest in the medieval witnesses of the Hebrew Bible have shed new light on the question of divergent textual forms, not only for those texts that would later constitute the Hebrew Bible, but

also for cognate ancient Jewish writings. They have proved that crucial divergences between textual witnesses existed. Yet, it does not always seem possible to reconstruct their genealogy, thus raising compelling theoretical and pragmatic questions related to the modern-day edition of these texts.

In fact, the recognition of textual plurality has a long history. It can be traced back to the prologue of Greek Ben Sira, in which the author recognizes the divergences between the Hebrew text and its Greek translation. The presence of concurrent versions of contemporary works in the Qumran caves (such as the Rule of Community) is a good indication of how ancient scribes and readers accommodated textual plurality. Origen's *Hexapla* in the third century CE is also a good example of a desire to represent concurrent textual forms together. Finally, several centuries later, the fascinating Complutensian Polyglot Bible in the sixteenth century is a magnificent example of representing the biblical text through its plurality. However, this plurality slowly faded behind a form of textual monism that constituted itself through the theorization of textual criticism in the nineteenth century: the Lachmannian stemmatization and the emergence of the Lagardian concept of an alleged *Urtext*.

Today, numerous voices oppose this theoretical model in ancient Jewish studies, not only under the influence of the so-called "New Philology" (see the studies of Paul Zumthor or Bernard Cerquiglini, for example), but also because the Dead Sea Scrolls have led scholars to question this textual paradigm. A variety of Hebrew texts have come to light that cannot easily be reduced to one single version, and the question "What is the Bible?" needs to be raised anew. This fundamental question is closely related to other issues. Textual criticism does not only concern itself with the reconstruction of archetypes, but also with questions such as "What is a text? What is an author? How texts were transmitted? What was the scribal involvement in textual transmission and textual transformation? What is the status of translation? What is the difference between copying (with variants) versus rewriting? What are the relationships between textual transmission and textual development?"

Since such problems have mainly been raised with regard to the study of the history of the biblical text, the conference held in Metz aimed to focus on the textual plurality of the so-called non-biblical texts from the Dead Sea Scrolls and their development in antiquity. We are entirely aware of the fact that the distinction between biblical and non-biblical texts is artificial in the case of the Dead Sea Scrolls (see the contribution of Michael Segal in this volume). Contributions on this topic will focus precisely on those texts that are borderline between what will become the Jewish canon and the remnants of Jewish literature of

this time (Jubilees, Temple Scroll, Reworked Pentateuch, Miscellanies, etc.). The idea is to observe the phenomenon of textual instability in texts that have not reached the authoritative status of Jewish Scripture.

Our aim was to think about textual plurality and to theorize the phenomenon and its theological, legal, political, social, and cultural implications by considering the following issues: (1) the co-existence of divergent textual witnesses from the same linguistic tradition; (2) the question of when do divergences indicate that we should stop considering a text as a “copy” of another text and start regarding it as a “new” composition; (3) the phenomenon of translation and the cultural transfers it entails; (4) semantic and conceptual transformation through transition from one language to another, from one socio-cultural identity to another; (5) the implications of textual variants between different witnesses, but also in comparison to rabbinic and patristic traditions; (6) an in-depth study of scribal practices at the codicological level: paratextual elements, corrections, and marginal notes as witnesses of a hermeneutical process through textual transmission. Obviously, the transmission of the text is intertwined with its transformation, as a result of the interventions of scribes, translators, and commentators.

Not all papers presented during the conference are published in this issue. Some will be published in the next issue of *Revue de Qumrân* and some in other journals. (1) Nine articles that address various aspects of our problem are assembled in this volume:

Corrado Martone shows the difficulty and the risk of reconstructing biblical scrolls when the Qumran texts show a plurality of textual traditions. George Brooke focuses on the question of textual plurality in the Pesharim: plurality manifested in exegetical base texts but also in diachronic textual developments. Through an analysis of the interpretation of scriptural quotations interwoven into the Admonitions in the Damascus Document, Liora Goldman demonstrates that the author employed pesher exegesis built on variant versions of prophetic verses and used them to enrich his interpretations. Similarly, Barry Hartog discusses the concepts of textual fluidity and fixity as social constructs by comparing commentaries on Homer and the Hebrew Bible from the Hellenistic and Roman periods. He shows that the presentation of particular texts as either fixed or fluid was not a central decision but reflected the aims of textual communities and how they construed the texts that were central to them.

(1) The participants of the conference were (in alphabetical order): George Brooke, Marieke Dhont, Shlomi Efrati, Liora Goldman, Barry Hartog, Jan Joosten, Menahem Kister, Liv Ingeborg Lied, Corrado Martone, Noam Mizrahi, Matthew Monger, James Nati, Emile Puech, Eshbal Ratzon, Michael Segal, Hanna Vanonen, and Romina Vergari.

Matthew Monger discusses the diverse collection of material related to Jubilees, from complete copies to smaller manuscripts containing smaller portions of texts, suggesting that the work did not have a single textual or literary form. Finally, he expands the hypothesis, already proposed by Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar, that some of these manuscripts can provide evidence of the literary growth of Jubilees.

Michael Segal focuses on 4Q365 and 4Q365a. He posits, following others, that these two manuscripts should be reunited into one scroll (4Q365+) and questions the relationship of this manuscript with the Temple Scroll and with biblical materials. According to Segal, Lev 23 was rewritten and expanded in the Temple Scroll, which in turn influenced the version of Lev 23 found in 4Q365+. The observation of this phenomenon has significant implications for understanding the dynamic process of textual transmission and the ways in which scribes in antiquity read and wrote.

Emile Puech compares the text of 4Q491 11 with that of 1QH^a XXV 34–XXVII 3/5(?), 4Q427 II 18–V 5(?), 4Q428 21, and 4Q431 I–III, and argues that they were two copies of a different composition that share a common source of inspiration and were written by either the same author or two closely related authors.

Menahem Kister deals with several levels of CD A 4:12–5:19 that reveal the emergence of textual pluriformity. He argues that in this passage two recensions of the Damascus Document were merged together.

Finally, Jan Joosten pays attention to the Miscellanies in the Septuagint of 3 Reigns 2:35, 46. They stand on the borderline between what can be considered biblical and extrabiblical texts. Joosten argues that the Miscellanies were introduced at the end of 3 Rgs/1 Kgs 2 at a time when this chapter formed the conclusion to a book of Samuel that did not continue into the book of Kings. In this way the Miscellanies show once again that book ends often provide evidence for different editions of “biblical” books.

The questions raised during this conference have not exhausted the matter and we are aware of the fact that some of our primary queries were not fully answered. The discussion merits to be continued and a lot of work remains to be done in order to understand better how texts emerge, are written, copied, and transformed, how they lived and survived from the ancient world to our present. We hope that this thematic issue will contribute to the discussion and stimulate further investigation.

Jean-Sébastien REY
 Marieke DHONT
 Corrado MARTONE

TEXTUAL PLURALITY AND TEXTUAL RECONSTRUCTIONS

A Cautionary Tale

Summary

The Qumran texts show a great plurality of textual traditions and an even greater fluidity in the mode of transmission of these traditions. This holds true for both the texts which will be later part of a canon (the so-called “biblical” texts) and for those that will not have the same fate (the so-called “para-” and “non-biblical” texts). This situation makes the task of reconstructing fragmentary, oftentimes very fragmentary texts difficult and risky. The present paper will present a number of examples aiming to show the possible pitfalls of reconstructions of texts stemming from a not uniform tradition, because variants may always be “‘hiding themselves’ in the lacunae” (F. M. Cross).

THE Qumran texts show a plurality of textual traditions and an even greater fluidity in the mode of transmission of these traditions. This holds true for both the texts which will be part of a canon (the so-called “biblical” texts) and for those that will not have the same fate (the so-called “para”- and “non-biblical” texts). (1) This situation makes the task of reconstructing fragmentary texts, oftentimes very fragmentary, difficult and risky. (2)

(1) On this topic see Bruno Chiesa, “Biblical and Parabiblical Texts from Qumran,” *Hen* 20/2 (1998): 131–51; Corrado Martone, “Biblical or Not Biblical? Some Doubts and Questions,” *RevQ* 21/3 (2004): 387–94; Gabriele Boccaccini, “Is Biblical Literature Still a Useful Term in Scholarship?,” in *What Is Bible?* (ed. Armin Lange and Karin Finsterbusch; CBET 67; Leuven: Peeters, 2012), 41–51.

(2) See Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar, “Working with Few Data: The Relation between 4Q285 and 11Q14,” *DSD* 7 (2000): 49–56; idem, “Constructing, Deconstructing and Reconstructing Fragmentary Manuscripts: Illustrated by a Study of 4Q184 (4QWiles of the Wicked Woman),” in *Rediscovering the Dead Sea Scrolls: An Assessment of Old*

Here I will not go into great detail about theory, but I will give some practical examples of my point in the hopes of stimulating further discussion. Therefore I will analyze some examples aiming to show the possible pitfalls of reconstructing texts stemming from an inconsistent tradition.

As mentioned, the reconstruction of a text in lacuna is first and foremost made difficult by the fluidity of the textual traditions attested in the Qumran manuscripts.

Fluidity

And indeed one of the main features of the Qumran library is undoubtedly the textual fluidity of the various works to be found there. (3)

This fluidity has long been recognized among the so-called “biblical” texts from Qumran, and Emanuel Tov remarked in a seminal study how difficult and risky it is to label a given Qumran biblical text as belonging to a given tradition. As for the well-known case of 4QSam^a, Tov maintains that

this text shares important readings with the LXX, but when these are examined together with the differences between the two, and with the unique readings of both, the scroll cannot be characterized any longer as ‘Septuagintal.’ Furthermore, not even all common readings of 4QSam^a and the LXX bear on this comparison. (4)

Biblical borderlines

This fluidity is not only found at the level of lower criticism but also at the level of higher criticism, which means that there is also a fluidity at the level of the very distinction between biblical and non-biblical texts.

and New Approaches and Methods (ed. Maxine L. Grossman; Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2010), 26–47; Émile Puech, “Édition et reconstruction des manuscrits,” *Hen* 39 (2017): 105–25.

(3) See Corrado Martone, “Textual Fluidity as a Means of Sectarian Identity: Some Examples from the Qumran Literature,” in *The Hebrew Bible in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. Nóra Dávid et al.; FRLANT 239; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2011), 117–26.

(4) Emanuel Tov, “A Modern Textual Outlook Based on the Qumran Scrolls,” *HUCA* 53 (1982): 11–27 (p. 21); for a criticism of Tov’s views see Bruno Chiesa, “Textual History and Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Old Testament,” in *The Madrid Qumran Congress: Proceedings of the International Congress on the Dead Sea Scrolls, Madrid, 18–21 March, 1991* (ed. Julio Trebolle Barrera and Luis Vegas Montaner; vol. 1; STDJ 11; Leiden: Brill, 1992), 257–72.

In a rather old article, but still worth reading and studying, Florentino García Martínez has put forward important observations on *biblical borderlines*, (5) remarking on how the Qumran evidence has made difficult the task of discerning a clear border between a biblical and a non-biblical text in a Second Temple context.

This difficulty should be taken into account when reconstructing biblical texts because, given the situation described above, we cannot be sure that a biblical manuscript would not have non-biblical variant readings and that, by an irony of fate, this non-biblical reading would be lost because of lacunae in the manuscript.

Love and Hate

Put it in other words: how can we be sure that the lacunae in the “biblical” manuscripts from the Judaean Desert did not contain para-biblical (or even non-biblical) material? In order to explain this problem in further detail I shall give two examples. In an interesting, although debatable, essay, A. Fincke provides us with a very precise reconstruction of cols. I-IV of 4QSam^a by filling the lacunae by means of the MT. (6) Are we and can we be at all sure that this reconstruction is correct? Unfortunately, the answer must be in the negative and 4QSam^a is the best example for this *caveat*: As is well-known, this manuscript contains a long extra-biblical addition at the end of 1Sam 10. (7) If this addition were not extant, we would have tried nevertheless to fill the lacuna on the basis of the MT, but would that have been the right way?

Another case of this sort is Deut 8:6. This passage runs as follows in the MT: (8)

(5) Florentino García Martínez, “Biblical Borderlines,” in *The People of the Dead Sea Scrolls: Their Writings, Beliefs and Practices* (ed. Florentino García Martínez and Julio Trebolle Barrera; Leiden: Brill, 1995), 123–38.

(6) Andrew Fincke, *The Samuel Scroll from Qumran: 4QSam^a Restored and Compared to the Septuagint and 4QSam^c* (STDJ 43; Leiden: Brill, 2001); see also idem, “4QSam^a Cols. I-IV,” *RevQ* 19/4 (2000): 549–606.

(7) Suffice it to mention here Frank M. Cross, “The Oldest Manuscripts from Qumran,” *JBL* 74/3 (1955): 147–72.

(8) Translations are taken from *A New English Translation of the Septuagint and the Other Greek Translations Traditionally Included under That Title* (ed. Albert Pietersma and Benjamin G. E. Wright; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009); Martin G. Abegg, Peter W. Flint, and Eugene Ulrich, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Bible: The Oldest Known Bible Translated for the First Time into English* (San Francisco, CA: Harper, 1999); New American Standard Bible®, Copyright © 1960, 1962, 1963, 1968, 1971, 1972, 1973, 1975, 1977, 1995 by The Lockman Foundation; Michael Wise, Martin Abegg Jr., and Edward Cook, *The Dead Sea Scrolls: A New Translation* (San Francisco, CA: Harper, 1996).

וּשְׁמַרְתָּ אֶת־מִצְוֹת יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ לִלְכֹת בְּדַרְכָּיו וּלְיִרְאָה אֹתוֹ

Therefore keep the commandments of the Lord your God, by walking in his ways and by fearing him.

The LXX give us no variant readings:

καὶ φυλάξῃ τὰς ἐντολὰς κυρίου τοῦ θεοῦ σου πορεύεσθαι ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς αὐτοῦ καὶ φοβεῖσθαι αὐτόν

And you shall keep the commandments of the Lord your God, to go in his ways and to fear him.

If a biblical fragment from Qumran would give us the following text:

ושמרת את-מצות יהוה אלהיך ללכת בדרכיו [...] אתו

Therefore keep the commandments of the Lord your God, by walking in his ways [...] him

it would be hard to resist the temptation to fill the lacuna on the basis of MT, so as to have the following text:

ושמרת את-מצות יהוה אלהיך ללכת בדרכיו [וליראה] אתו

Therefore keep the commandments of the Lord your God, by walking in his ways [and by fearing] him.

But in this case we have a very interesting variant reading in 4QDeutⁿ, (9) a text that may well be put on the borderline between “biblical” and non-biblical manuscripts as it is a non aligned and excerpted text. (10)

In 4QDeutⁿ, in fact, Deut 8:6 runs as follows:

(9) On 4QDeutⁿ (4Q41) see Sidnie A. White, *A Critical Edition of Seven Manuscripts of Deuteronomy: 4QDt^a, 4QDt^b, 4QDt^c, 4QDt^d, 4QDt^e, 4QDt^f, 4QDt^g* (PhD diss., Harvard University, 1988); eadem, “The All Souls Deuteronomy and the Decalogue,” *JBL* 109/2 (1990): 193–206; eadem, “4QDtⁿ: Biblical Manuscript or Excerpted Text?,” in *Of Scribes and Scrolls: Studies on the Hebrew Bible, Intertestamental Judaism, and Christian Origins, Presented to John Strugnell on the Occasion of His Sixtieth Birthday* (ed. Harold W. Attridge, John J. Collins, and Thomas H. Tobin; College Theology Society Resources in Religion 5; Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1990), 13–20; eadem, “4QDeut N,” in *Qumran Cave 4.IX: Deuteronomy, Joshua, Judges, Kings* (ed. Eugene C. Ulrich et al.; DJD 14; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995), 117–28; Esther Eshel, “4QDeutⁿ — A Text That Has Undergone Harmonistic Editing,” *HUCA* 62 (1991): 117–54.

(10) See White, “4QDtⁿ”; Julia A. Duncan, “Excerpted Texts of Deuteronomy at Qumran,” *RevQ* 18/1 (1997): 43–62.

4QDeutⁿ I, 1-2

1 ... ושמרתה את 2 מצות יהוה אלוהיך ללכת בדרכיו ולאהבה אתו

Therefore keep the commandments of the Lord your God, by walking in his ways and by loving him.

This is probably a sort of harmonization based on Deut 10:12 (“So now, O Israel, what does the Lord your God require of you? Only to fear the Lord your God, *to walk in all his ways, to love him*, to serve the Lord your God with all your heart and with all your soul”), (11) but the point is that in this case a conjecture based on the MT would have been misleading.

In my opinion, the main problem lies in the fact that measuring the space of the lacunae in the biblical manuscripts from Qumran does not tell us anything regarding the content of these lacunae. A short lacuna in the manuscript does not necessarily mean a shorter text, as Abegg, Flint and Ulrich point out in the case of Jer 33:20 in 4QJer^c. (12) They write: “[t]his portion of 4QJer^c is no longer preserved. The size of the gap, however, is too short to accomodate the text found in MT ... 4QJer^c either contained a shorter text at this point or had one or two words written above the line.” (13) Which is tantamount to saying: “we cannot know.”

This *caveat* is confirmed by the case of Is 37:6–7 in 1QIs^a, where the Qumran manuscript does preserve these verses written above the line; it is clear that a lacuna would have been much shorter than the text preserved in MT. (14)

(11) On the phenomenon of harmonization, see the quasi-classic study of Emanuel Tov, “The Nature and Background of Harmonizations in Biblical Manuscripts,” *JSOT* 10 (1985): 3–29; more recently see idem, “Textual Harmonization in the Stories of the Patriarchs,” in *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible, Qumran, Septuagint: Collected Essays* (vol. 3; VTS 167; Leiden: Brill, 2015), 166–88; idem, “Textual Harmonization in Exodus 1–24,” *TC* (2017): 1–16; Corrado Martone, “From Chaos to Coherence and Back: Some Thoughts on the Phenomenon of Harmonization in the Bible and the Dead Sea Scrolls,” in “*Let the Wise Listen and Add to Their Learning*” (*Prov 1:5*): *Festschrift for Günter Stemberger on the Occasion of His 75th Birthday* (ed. Constanza Cordoni and Gerhard Langer; SJ 90; Berlin: de Gruyter, 2016), 29–38.

(12) On 4QJer^c see Emanuel Tov, “4QJer C,” in *Qumran Cave 4.X: The Prophets* (ed. Eugene C. Ulrich et al.; DJD 15; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997), 177–201.

(13) Abegg, Flint and Ulrich, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Bible*, 401 n. 66. This situation can clearly be seen in PAM 43.101.

(14) On this topic see also Alessandro Catastini’s review of E.D. Herbert, *Reconstructing Biblical Dead Sea Scrolls: A New Method Applied to the Reconstruction of 4QSam^a* (Leiden: Brill, 1997), in *Hen* 23 (2001): 116–20.

The Pesharim and the Biblical Text

To show the danger of drawing conclusions from fragmentary data, an example taken from the pesharim may prove helpful. (15) Again, this example deals with the problems these texts may entail for what concerns transmission of texts that would become biblical texts at a later stage. In fact, one of the main features of the Qumran theology is that the relationship of the Teacher (and his followers) with God is based on a revelation, so it comes as no surprise that the Teacher and his followers do not hesitate to use a free approach to God's word, when necessary. (16)

This is the case in 1QpHab V 8–12, which quotes and interprets Hab 1:13 as follows:

8 ... למה תביטו בוגדים ותחריש בבלע 9 רשע צדיק ממנו vac פשרו על בית
אבשלום 10 ואנשי עצתם אשר נדמו בתוכחת מורה הצדק 11 ולוא עזרהו על איש
הכזב vac אשר מאס את 12 התורה בתוך כול עדתם

'How can you look on silently, you traitors, when 9. the wicked destroys one more righteous than he?' (1:13b) vac This refers to the family of Absalom 10. and the members of their party, who kept quiet when the Teacher of Righteousness was rebuked, 11. and they did not help him against the Man of the Lie, vac who had rejected 12. the Law in the presence of their entire company

The pesher changes the appeal to God in the biblical text ("why do you look on the traitors" **לִמָּה תִּבִּיט בּוֹגְדִים**) to an invective against unidentified traitors guilty of not helping the Teacher of Righteousness when he was attacked by his enemies ("How can you look on silently, you traitors" **לִמָּה תִּבִּיטוּ בּוֹגְדִים**). (17)

In this case the author of the pesher has added a commentary and changed Habakkuk's text on the basis of his own interpretive-needs.

(15) On the biblical text used in the pesharim, see George J. Brooke, "The Biblical Texts in the Qumran Commentaries: Scribal Errors or Exegetical Variants?" in *Early Jewish and Christian Exegesis: Studies in Memory of William Hugh Brownlee* (ed. Craig A. Evans and William F. Stinespring; SBL Homage Series 10; Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, 1987), 85–100.

(16) See Florentino García Martínez, "El Pesher, Interpretación Profética de la Escritura," *Salmanticensis* 26 (1979): 125–39; idem, "Escatologización de los Escritos Proféticos En Qumran," *Estudios Bíblicos* 44 (1986): 101–16.

(17) On this topic see Corrado Martone, "Sectarian Variant Readings and Sectarian Texts in the Qumran Corpus and Beyond: Reflections on an Elusive Concept," in *Ricerchare La Sapienza Di Tutti Gli Antichi (Sir. 39,1): Miscellanea in Onore Di Gian Luigi Prato* (ed. Marcello Milani and Marco Zappella; Supplementi alla rivista biblica 56; Bologna: Edizioni Dehoniane Bologna, 2013), 393–400.

But again, what if the term תביטו in the text of the pesher would have been in lacuna? And let me go on with rhetorical questions: in this case, who would have been brave (or cautious) enough not to fill the lacuna according to the masoretic text?

The Zadokites in the Community Rule?

So there is no reason to believe that this textual fluidity and the problems it involves should be limited to the biblical manuscripts, and many sectarian manuscripts show a tendency to textual instability which makes the task of reconstructing damaged texts difficult.

Here is a well-known passage of the Rule of the Community, where we find an interesting variant reading. 1QS V 1–4 reads as follows:

1 ... להבדל מעדת 2 אנשי העול להיות ליחד בתורה ובהון ומשובים על פי בני
צדוק הכהנים שומרי הברית 3 על רוב אנשי 3 היחד המחזקים בברית על
פיהם יצא תכון הנורל לכול דבר לתורה ולהון ולמשפט לעשות אמת יחד ועונה
4 צדקה ומשפט ואהבת חסד והצנע לכת בכול דרכיהם

They should keep apart from 2 men of sin in order to constitute a Community in law and possessions, and acquiesce to the authority of the sons of Zadok, the priests who safeguard the covenant and to the authority of the multitude of the men 3 of the Community, those who persevere steadfastly in the covenant.

In the 4QS^d manuscript we find no reference to the Sons of Zadok: see 4Q258 1 I:

2 ולבדל מעדת אנשי העול ולהיות יחד בתור[ה] ובהון ומשיבים על פי הרבים לכל
דבר 3 לתורה ולהון

2 They must keep apart from men of sin in order to be together in the law and in possessions and acquiesce to the authority of Many in every affair
3 involving the law and possessions.

In my opinion, this is a major variant reading because it shows that at some point in the development of the Qumran group some change must have occurred as to the Zadokite's leadership in the group itself. (18) However, what I would like to notice now is that the textual situation of the Community rule makes it difficult and risky to fill the lacunae in the text.

(18) See Corrado Martone, "Beyond *Beyond the Essene Hypothesis*? Some Observations on the Qumran Zadokite Priesthood," *Hen* 25 (2003): 267–75.

Let us see the same passage in 4Q256 5, that runs as follows: (19)

2 ... ולהבדל מעדת [אנשי העול ולהיות יחד בתורה ובהון ומשיבים] 3 על פי הרבים
לכול דבר לתורה] ולהון ולעשות ענוה וצדקה ומשפט ואהבת] 4 חסד והצנע לכת
בכול דרכיהמה

They should keep apart from the congregation of [the men of injustice, and to be a community in Torah and possessions, and giving answer] 3 according to the authority of the Many in every affair involving the law, [property and judgment, to achieve together truth and humility, justice and uprightness,] 4 compassionate love and seemly behaviour in all their paths.

Sure, this a likely kind of reconstruction, but it takes for granted that there is no mention of the **בני צדוק** in this manuscript and this may have some influence on our historical reconstructions regarding the origin of the Qumran group and its relationship with the Zadokite element. In fact, this may mean that at some point a group of Zadokites adopts a pre-existing tradition because of its eschatological elements. After the death of Onias III the Zadokite descent is definitely removed from the historical scene and only these eschatological elements may offer a last hope for seeing the legitimate priesthood re-established in its office. (20)

Again, given the general situation of the textual stability in the Qumran fragments, we should be cautious about filling the lacunae, even more so in case of different and conflicting attested traditions.

The Damascus Document(s)

In my opinion, the 4Q manuscripts of CD are an important witness to the antiquity of part of the work and of the antiquity of its source, but I should be more cautious about ascribing the same antiquity to the work as a whole, above all to those sections of CD which have no Qumran evidence. Moreover, it should be noted that according to S. Schechter manuscript A of CD was compiled “in a haphazard way, with little regard to completeness or order.” (21)

(19) On the relationship between these manuscripts see Corrado Martone, *La “Regola Della Comunità”* : *Edizione Critica* (Torino: Silvio Zamorani Editore, 1995); Sarianna Metso, *The Textual Development of the Qumran Community Rule* (STDJ 21; Leiden: Brill, 1997); Alison Schofield, *From Qumran to the Yāḥad: A New Paradigm of Textual Development for The Community Rule* (STDJ 77; Leiden: Brill, 2009).

(20) See Corrado Martone, “The Qumran ‘Library’ and Other Ancient Libraries: Elements for a Comparison,” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls at Qumran and the Concept of a Library* (ed. Sidnie White Crawford and Cecilia Wassen; STDJ 116; Leiden: Brill, 2015), 55–77.

(21) Solomon Schechter, *Documents of Jewish Sectaries* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1910), X; see also Charlotte Hempel, *The Damascus Texts* (Companion to the Qumran Scrolls 1; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2000), 50–51.

In his edition of the 4Q fragments, Joseph Baumgarten notices that “in the approximately 326 lines, complete or partial, which parallel the Genizah text there are less than thirty significant variants.” (22) This is a very good ratio for establishing a connection between the Genizah and the Qumran manuscripts but maybe somewhat risky for reconstructing lacunae in a text on the basis of a correspondence of approximately 326 lines, some of them partial. In this perspective, about thirty significant variants are not-so-small a number if one deals with textual reconstructions which need a perfectly stable textual tradition.

Again, an example may help clarify the matter.

CD XI 12:

אל ימרא איש את עבדו ואת אמתו ואת שוכרו <שכירו> בשבת

No one should provoke his servant, his maid, or his <employee> on the Sabbath.

and here is 4Q270 6v:16–17:

16 ... אל ימר איש 17 אֶת עַבְדּוֹ וְאֶת אִמְתּוֹ [אֶת] בְּיָוִם הַשַּׁבָּת

16. [... . Let no one contend(?) with 17 his slave or his maidservant on the Sabba[th].

and 4Q271 4QD-f 5i:7–8:

7 ... אלימר את עבדו ואת [אמתו ואת שכירו ב]שֶׁבֶת

Let no man contend (?) with his slave, 8 [his maidservant, or his hired man on the Sabbath.

In this case the editors have filled the lacuna in 4Q271 on the basis of the Genizah manuscript since, in their opinions, the width of the lacuna matches the text of CD. (23) The problem is that it is not so easy to calculate the space needed in a lacuna to contain one single word that could have been written differently to fit in with a lesser space, even more so if we consider that in the same manuscript 4Q271 the syntagm **אל ימר**, whatever its precise meaning, is penned as a single word (**אלימר**, see PAM 43.280).

(22) See Joseph M. Baumgarten, “Damascus Document,” in *Damascus Document II, Some Works of the Torah, and Related Documents* (ed. James H. Charlesworth and Henry W. M. Rietz; vol. 3 of *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek Texts with English Translations*; The Princeton Theological Seminary Dead Sea Scrolls Project; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck — Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox, 2006), 1–185 (p. 1 fn. 5).

(23) See Magen Broshi, ed., *The Damascus Document Reconsidered* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, Shrine of the Book, Israel Museum, 1992), *ad loc.*

The tripartite canon in 4QMMT

Given the importance of the Dead Sea Scrolls to better comprehend the whole of the Jewish culture in the Second Temple period, it is vitally important that that one draws their conclusions and assumptions from certain and well-established texts.

This leads us to consider about the alleged Qumran evidence on a tripartite canon in Second Temple times. A well-known passage is found in 4QMMT which seems to be a clear witness in this regard. The passage would read as follows: (24)

[... And] (10) we have [written] to you so that you may study (carefully) the book of Moses and the books of the Prophets and (the writings of) David [and the] (11) [events of] ages past.

Based on this text, such a reliable work as *The Oxford Encyclopedia of the Books of the Bible* maintains that “the document might provide the first external witness to something resembling the later tripartite canon” (25) and the likewise reliable *Eerdmans Dictionary of Early Judaism* defines this passage as “the most explicit comment on the authoritative writings of the day.” (26)

Eugene Ulrich, however, after pointing out that this passage “is sometimes accepted and interpreted as demonstrating a ‘tripartite canon’ in the second century BCE,” (27) has clearly showed that in this passage the only certain words are *ktwb* and *dwyd* and that the often repeated assumption of a tripartite canon is based on, so to speak, an optimistic reconstruction of a very fragmentary text. (28)

I know well that other scholars propose different views on this passage; (29) my caveat is against the risk of drawing historical conclusions

(24) See Elisha Qimron and John Strugnell, eds., *Qumran Cave 4, V: Miqsat Maase Ha-Torah* (DJD 10; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994), 59.

(25) *The Oxford Encyclopedia of the Books of the Bible* (Oxford Encyclopedias of the Bible; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 1:104.

(26) Daniel C. Harlow and John J. Collins, eds., *The Eerdmans Dictionary of Early Judaism* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2010), 211.

(27) Eugene C. Ulrich, “The Non-Attestation of a Tripartite Canon in 4QMMT,” *CBQ* 65 (2003): 202–14 (202–03).

(28) Ulrich, “Non-Attestation,” 210–11; see also Timothy H. Lim, “The Alleged Reference to the Tripartite Division of the Hebrew Bible,” *RevQ* 20/1 (2001): 23–37.

(29) See Katell Berthelot, “4QMMT et la question du canon de la Bible hébraïque,” in *From 4QMMT to Resurrection: Mélanges qumraniens en hommage à Émile Puech* (ed. Florentino García Martínez, Annette Steudel, and Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar; STDJ 61; Leiden: Brill, 2006), 1–14; Hanne von Weissenberg, *4QMMT: Reevaluating the Text, the Function, and the Meaning of the Epilogue* (STDJ 82; Leiden: Brill, 2009); Émile Puech, “Quelques observations sur le ‘canon’ des ‘Écrits,’” in *Authoritative Scriptures in Ancient Judaism* (ed. Mladen Popović; JSJSup 141; Leiden: Brill, 2010), 117–41; idem, “L’épilogue de 4QMMT revisité,” in *A Teacher for All Generations: Essays in Honor of James C. VanderKam* (ed. Eric F. Mason; vol. 1; JSJSup 153; Leiden: Brill, 2012), 309–39.

from uncertain texts even more so if these conclusions are somehow consecrated and disseminated in handbooks addressing non-specialists.

In other words, the risk here is the creation of factoids, a term created by Norman Mailer meaning “facts which have no existence before appearing in a magazine or newspaper.” (30)

Provisional conclusions

It is not my intention to criticize, let alone polemicize, the many editors of the DSS who have proposed vast integrations to manuscripts and fragments of manuscripts, oftentimes badly damaged. It hardly needs to be said that this kind of approach is helpful and is a strong input for the progress of the research. (31)

On a side note, let me add that maximalist reconstructions may offer material to forgers, but they may also help to unmask them. This is not the place to touch upon the post 2002 allegedly Qumran fragments, (32) but it is worth noting that some of them heavily rely on Milik’s reconstructions in his *The Books of Enoch* (33) and that this very fact has put these fragments in a bad light: in fact also the editors themselves of such fragments maintain that some fragments “show levels of surprising agreement with modern printed editions.” (34)

In any case, these observations were only meant to plant the seed of doubt, because it is important to draw as much data as possible from the manuscripts. It is likewise important, however, to always be clear about what we have and what we do not have, because as Frank Moore Cross taught us “variations ... of roughly the same length as the normal formulations ... could be ‘hiding themselves’ in the lacunae.” (35)

Corrado MARTONE

Università degli Studi di Torino

(30) Norman Mailer, *Marilyn: A Biography* (London: Hodden and Staughton, 1973), 18.

(31) See also James Charlesworth, “Seven Rules for Restoring Lacunae,” in *A Teacher for All Generations: Essays in Honor of James C. VanderKam* (ed. Eric F. Mason; vol. 1; JSJSup 153; Leiden: Brill, 2012), 285–96.

(32) Torleif Elgvin, Michael Langlois, and Kipp Davis, *Gleanings from the Caves: Dead Sea Scrolls and Artefacts from the Schøyen Collection* (Library of Second Temple Studies 71; London/New York: Bloomsbury T&T Clark, 2016); Emanuel Tov, Kipp Davis, and Robert Duke, *Dead Sea Scrolls Fragments in the Museum Collection* (Publications of Museum of the Bible 1; Leiden: Brill, 2016).

(33) Józef T. Milik, *The Books of Enoch: Aramaic Fragments of Qumran Cave 4* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976).

(34) Kipp Davis et al., “Nine Dubious ‘Dead Sea Scrolls’ Fragments from the Twenty-First Century,” *DSD* 24 (2017): 1–40 (13).

(35) Frank M. Cross, “Samaria Papyrus I: An Aramaic Slave Conveyance of 335 BCE Found in Wadi ed Daliyeh,” *Eretz Israel* 18 (1985): 7–17 (7).

TEXTUAL PLURALITY IN THE PESCHARIM

Summary

This paper argues against the idea that any of the pesharim are textual autographs. Plurality will be demonstrated in four ways. First, the demonstration will be made through discussion of the ways in which the lemmata and comments in the pesharim both in various ways indicate an ongoing awareness and use of textual pluralism. Second, the textual pluralism of the pesharim themselves will be highlighted through attention to the internal developments within some of the pesharim—diachronic plurality. Third, textual pluralism will be underlined through describing the examples where there is more than one commentary on the same scriptural base text—synchronic plurality. Fourth, attention will be given to the commentaries on Isaiah, Hosea and the Psalms to underline the diversity and plurality of the evidence.

EVEN in the third edition of his classic work *The Ancient Library of Qumrân*, (1) Frank M. Cross included a section on the pesharim, the sectarian commentaries, in which he argued that the pesharim are autographs. It is worth citing his description at length because it forms the core of what I would like to argue against in this short paper:

In a later era the body of traditional exegesis was put into writing in the commentaries and related documents which have come into our hands.

Such a construction of the literary background of commentary materials is necessary to explain certain features of the works. In the first place,

(1) Frank M. Cross, *The Ancient Library of Qumrân* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1995), 91–92; the quotation is the same in the first edition which was published as *The Ancient Library of Qumran and Modern Biblical Studies* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1958), 84–85, and in the revised second edition, Anchor Books (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1961), 114–15.

there is a consistent treatment of biblical expressions throughout them, (2) despite the fact that their hermeneutic technique lends itself to extreme subjectivity in dealing with Scripture. The commentaries are based on communal and traditional exposition, therefore, and are not merely the result of individual flights of fancy. In the second place, virtually all commentaries and testimonia (3) appear in manuscripts written in late hands, from the second half of the first century BC and the first half of the first century AD. We have shown elsewhere (4) that there are strong reasons to believe that most of the commentaries are autographs. The argument is quite simple. Biblical works and non-biblical works reappear again and again in the caves, sometimes in as many as ten or fifteen copies of a single work. This duplication (or multiplication) of copies among the various caves is significantly absent in a single category of literature: the commentaries. In light of the large number of such works now known, especially from Cave IV, it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that such works were rarely if ever copied, and hence are mostly original works. If this conclusion is valid, it has important implications for dating: the date of the script of a commentary will indicate normally its date of written composition. The deduction to be drawn is that a corpus of traditional exegesis was put into writing only toward the end of the sect's life.

In an additional chapter in the third edition, Cross added a revised form of his contribution to the Madrid Qumran Congress entitled "Notes on a Generation of Qumrân Studies" (5) in which he commented on

(2) "There is, to be sure, an occasional unevenness in treating a 'prophetic' expression. For example, the 'staff', *mḥqq*, of Gen. 49.10 is differently interpreted in 4Q Patriarchal Blessings and in *CD*. In the former (1.2) it is the royal covenant, i.e., the covenant of David; in *CD* 6.7, the term is equated with *dwrš htwrh*, the priestly office." [This note belongs to Cross's text.]

(3) "An exception is 4Q Testimonia inscribed by the same scribe who prepared 1QS as well as a number of other manuscripts, biblical and non-biblical, found in Qumrân caves. His hand belongs preferably to the first quarter of the first century BC." [This note belongs to Cross's text.]

(4) Frank M. Cross, "Qumrân Cave I," *JBL* 75/2 (1956): 121–25 (123–24): "Biblical works and non-biblical works reappear again and again in the caves, sometimes in as many as ten or even fifteen copies of a single work. This duplication (or multiplication) of copies among the various caves is significantly absent in a single category of literature: the commentaries (*p̄šārîm*). In light of the large number of *p̄šārîm* now known, especially from 4Q, it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that such works were rarely if ever copied. Most of our *p̄šer* rolls no doubt are autographs. And if this conclusion is valid, it has important implications for dating: the date of the script of a *p̄šer* will normally indicate its date of (written) composition."

(5) "Notes on a Generation of Qumrân Studies," in *The Madrid Qumran Congress: Proceedings of the International Congress on the Dead Sea Scrolls, Madrid 18–21 March, 1991* (ed. Julio Trebolle Barrera and Luis Vegas Montaner; STDJ 11; Leiden: Brill – Madrid: Editorial Complutense, 1992), 1:1–14; revised and expanded as chapter 6 in *The Ancient Library of Qumrân* (3rd ed.; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1995).

several features of his earlier work; he had nothing additional to say by way of qualifying his views on the commentaries. As a result, it is not inappropriate to engage with his statement as published and republished over more than a generation.

Before moving to the four principal sections of this paper, a few preliminary comments are in order. The first concerns the use and definition of the term “autograph” by Cross. For practical purposes his choice of the term must indicate that the manuscript was handwritten by its author, since the term unambiguously refers to something that is written or made with one’s own hand, though the term has a particular and specific meaning in relation to a handwritten signature. That understanding of the term is confirmed in Cross’s own words cited above: “such works were rarely if ever copied, and hence are mostly original works. If this conclusion is valid, it has important implications for dating: the date of the script of the commentary will indicate normally its date of written composition.” Cross did not assert that each pesher was composed by the same author, since there are several different hands from a relatively long period of time. But he does assert that most of the pesharim are autographs, apparently meaning that he understood that each pesher was written out once by the person who composed it. It is that view which actually seems unlikely given what we now know about these commentaries.

The second preliminary comment concerns Cross’s characterisation of the evidence. He is taken by the notion that the pesharim are “a single category.” Despite his forty-year persistence with such a notion, over the years there has been significant scholarly attention to the diversity of commentary literature found in the Qumran caves. As is common with many literary genres, in my opinion, that diversity seems to indicate that there is no clear set of normative criteria that can be assembled to define the genre whether in form or content or purpose. (6) Two examples of the scholarly appreciation of that diversity can be mentioned. On the one hand, there is the much-appreciated overview by Devorah Dimant in which she notes four categories of scriptural interpretation that merit in some way the designation pesher and

(6) My earliest publication on the topic of the genre of pesher, George J. Brooke, “Qumran Pesher: Towards the Redefinition of a Genre,” *RevQ* 10/4 (1981): 483–503, is still often quoted and challenged, as if I have had nothing to say on the matter since; see, e.g., Stephen E. Winter, “Approaches to Scripture in the Fourth Gospel and the Qumran *Pesharim*,” *NovT* 48 (2006): 313–28. But see also, e.g., my more recent comments on the topic in George J. Brooke, “Genre Theory, Rewritten Bible and Pesher,” *DSD* 17 (2010): 332–57 (= *Rethinking Genre: Essays in Honor of John J. Collins*); repr. in *Reading the Dead Sea Scrolls: Essays in Method* (SBLEJL 39; Atlanta, GA: SBL, 2013), 115–35.

that they cannot be neatly separated from one another. (7) On the other hand, in a well-wrought survey of citation formulae in the so-called continuous pesharim Moshe Bernstein has indicated the variety of forms such formulae take, indicating that there was probably a range of different attitudes and approaches to the base scriptural text even within a fairly closely defined set of manuscripts. (8) So, there are problems with Cross's assumptions about the uniformity of the genre.

Third, dating of the various manuscripts is indeed open to some subjectivity, but Annette Steudel has written specifically on the dating of exegetical compositions. (9) In the first part of her presentation, she outlines some criteria for dating Qumran compositions and she begins by pointing out that the palaeographical date of a manuscript merely provides a *terminus ad quem* for the date of the composition of a text. Only in the case of autographs is the date of the manuscript the same as the date of the composition of the text written on it. She asserts firmly, and justifiably in my opinion, that "autographs seem to be extremely rare at Qumran and difficult to prove." (10) The earliest manuscripts amongst the exegetical compositions are 4QpIsa C and 11QMelch, both of which are very likely to belong to the first half of the first century BCE. Peshar Habakkuk (1QpHab) is commonly dated to the first half of the first century CE, and could be contemporary with Peshar Hosea A (4QpHos A) and Peshar Hosea B (4QpHos B). Most of the other exegetical texts can be placed typologically in the second half of the first century BCE. Cross was correct to state that the manuscript evidence for the exegetical texts generally belongs to the later

(7) Devorah Dimant, "Pesharim, Qumran," *ABD* 5:244–51. Dimant lists: continuous pesharim, thematic pesharim, isolated pesharim, and other forms of pesharim.

(8) Moshe J. Bernstein, "Introductory Formulas for Citation and Re-Citation of Biblical Verses in the Qumran Pesharim: Observations on a Peshar Technique," *DSD* 1 (1994): 30–70; repr. in *Reading and Re-Reading Scripture at Qumran* (STDJ 107; Leiden: Brill, 2013), 2:635–73.

(9) Annette Steudel, "Dating Exegetical Texts from Qumran," in *The Dynamics of Language and Exegesis at Qumran* (ed. Devorah Dimant and Reinhard G. Kratz; FAT 2/35; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2009), 39–53. A similar list of the relative chronological dates of the exegetical texts was presented by Julio Trebolle Barrera, "Qumran Evidence for a Biblical Standard Text and for Non-standard and Parabiblical Texts," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls in their Historical Context* (ed. Timothy H. Lim et al.; Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 2000), 104–6; he dated 1QpHab to the second half of the first century BCE rather than to the first century CE.

(10) Steudel, "Dating Exegetical Texts from Qumran," 40. Steudel wonders whether 4QTest might be an autograph. Such a proposal has also been suggested by Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar, "In Search of the Scribe of 1QS," in *Emanuel: Studies in Hebrew Bible, Septuagint and Dead Sea Scrolls in Honor of Emanuel Tov* (ed. Shalom M. Paul et al.; VTS 94; Leiden: Brill, 2003), 452, who sees the scribe of 1QS as the compiler of the set of quotations which he copied out as Testimonia (4Q175).

period of the sect's existence, but such an observation is not particularly significant since the majority of extant manuscripts from the Qumran caves present a similar dating profile. Furthermore, in making his observations Cross did not take note of some earlier examples of exegetical texts, nor of the dates of the earliest manuscripts containing compositions (such as S and D) which themselves contain thematic pesharim, the kind of commentary extant also in 11QMelch. The long *durée* of the production of exegetical compositions makes it unlikely that in the great majority of cases what survives are autographs.

Fourth, Cross seems to have made fairly rigid assumptions about the nature of the interpretative activity represented in the pesharim, that everything is about "set forms of exposition." (11) It is indeed the case that there are some superficial similarities across the compositions that Cross might have had in mind, but, as already mentioned, there is much diversity both across a range of written exegetical works and even within the so-called continuous pesharim. But the point here is also to acknowledge that the process of the production of any one set of written interpretations is unlikely to have been as mechanical as Cross seemed to suppose. (12) Although it is no longer suitable to describe the exegetical process as simply inspired, it is the case that peshar interpretation represents some kind of literary prophetic continuity with the unfulfilled blessings, curses, poems, and prophetic oracles which they skilfully interpret. The inspiration is no longer represented solely in oral outpourings but is given a written form. The peshar interpretation provides divinely sourced exposition of what even the prophets themselves were not aware. There is much scholarly work yet to be done to explain how the various sectarian commentators linked their comments with the scriptural texts that they were expounding, but as they used a wide range of exegetical techniques it seems that the commentators also relied on their own moments of insight and inspiration too. (13) My point is that attention to this complex process of interpretation, a complex combination of skill and muse, is unlikely to result in the

(11) Cross, *The Ancient Library of Qumrân*, 91.

(12) On the wider frame of reference for the continuity of prophecy in the sectarian Dead Sea Scrolls see the helpful study by Alex P. Jassen, "Prophecy after 'the Prophets': The Dead Sea Scrolls and the History of Prophecy in Judaism," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls in Context: Integrating the Dead Sea Scrolls in the Study of Ancient Texts, Languages, and Cultures* (ed. Armin Lange, Emanuel Tov, and Matthias Weigold; VTS 140; Leiden: Brill, 2011), 2:577–93.

(13) Winnie the Pooh sums up such inspiration well: "Poetry and Hums aren't things which you get, they're things which *get you*. And all you can do is to go where they can find you." Alan A. Milne, *The House at Pooh Corner* (reset ed.; London: Methuen & Co, 1965), 144.

overall kinds of uniformity that Cross assumed and proposed, the kinds of uniformity that would result in the possibility of a known tradition of the production of exegetical autographs.

1. Textual pluralism in the exegetical base texts (14)

In the first main point of this presentation I wish briefly to reassert some observations that I made in an earlier study on the role of textual pluralism in the scriptural interpretations of the movement most clearly exegetically represented in the pesharim. (15)

First, it seems to me that it can still be maintained that there are no scriptural manuscripts coming from the Qumran caves that clearly exhibit narrowly sectarian readings, readings that demarcate one group from another as is the case in a few instances in the Samaritan Pentateuch. Even those copies of scriptural books that might be understood as being written in the so-called Qumran scribal practice do not seem to me to contain sectarian readings, though in some instances some manuscripts might have been produced for particular uses in the movement, such as for certain liturgical purposes. Probably in common with other Jewish groups in late Second Temple times, the sectarian movement had a wide range of scriptural exemplars with which to work to produce its interpretations. (16)

Second, in a few instances we are indeed able to identify the text-type that was used from one generation to the next. (17) In some cases, it is possible to notice how cited or reworked scriptural material seems to reflect one or other previously known Hebrew version. That seems to be the case in some readings of Genesis in Commentary on Genesis A, where there are several reflections of a form of the Hebrew probably represented in the *Vorlage* of Septuagint Genesis. (18) The case seems

(14) Some of the comments in this section of the paper are further illuminated in the section on the pesharim in the contribution to this issue by Pieter B. Hartog, "Textual Fixity and Fluidity in the Hellenistic and Roman Periods: Alexandrian Homer Scholarship and the Qumran Pesharim."

(15) George J. Brooke, "E pluribus unum: Textual Variety and Definitive Interpretation in the Qumran Scrolls," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls in their Historical Context*, 107–19.

(16) One observation that seems to support the view that there are no narrowly sectarian readings in the scriptural manuscripts from the Qumran caves concerns the community's liturgical texts: they nowhere contain anamnesis of a sectarian founding moment.

(17) E.g., Esther Eshel, "4QLev^d: A Possible Source for the Temple Scroll and *Miqsat Ma'aše ha-Torah*," *DSD* 2 (1995): 1–13.

(18) See George J. Brooke, "Some Comments on 4Q252 and the Text of Genesis," *Textus* 19 (1998): 1–25; supported by Emanuel Tov, "The Textual Base of the Biblical

to be different for the citations and allusions to Jeremiah in the exegetical literature from the Qumran caves; Armin Lange has recently argued those citations and allusions consistently follow the longer form of Jeremiah known from the MT, rather than the shorter text as represented by the *Vorlage* of the Septuagint which was also known at Qumran (4QJer^b). (19) Furthermore, in one classic case, the interpretation of Hab 2:16 in 1QpHab XI 8–14, the readings now present in the MT *h'rl* (“be circumcised”) and in the Hebrew *Vorlage* of the Septuagint *hr'l* (“stagger”) might allow us to conclude that the commentator “may well have had different texts of Habakkuk in front of him, rather than simply remembering variant readings, as he sought to elucidate the meaning of the prophecy.” (20) And again, in a similar fashion, the various forms of Num 24:17 in 4QTestimonia, CD VII 19–20 (4QD^a 3 iii 20–21), and 1QM XI 6–7 with their different presentations of the verb suggest pluralism either at the textual or interpretative level or both. (21)

In my opinion the presence of textual pluralism amongst the scriptural scrolls from the Qumran caves and its variable reflection in the sectarian exegetical literature is reason to argue that the scriptural lemmata in the exegetical literature should also be considered as evidence for the extant forms of scripture, even if in some cases variants in the exegetical literature were introduced to make the text work all the better for the intended interpretation. (22) And, working the other way

Quotations in Second Temple Compositions,” in *HĀ-’ĪSH MŌSHE: Studies in Scriptural Interpretation in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Related Literature in Honor of Moshe J. Bernstein* (ed. Binyamin Goldstein, Michael Segal, and George J. Brooke; STDJ 122; Leiden: Brill, 2017), 280–302 (292–93).

(19) Armin Lange, “Texts within Texts: The Text of Jeremiah in the Exegetical Literature from Qumran,” in *Is There a Text in This Cave? Studies in the Textuality of the Dead Sea Scrolls in Honour of George J. Brooke* (ed. Ariel Feldman, Maria Cioatǎ, and Charlotte Hempel; STDJ 119; Leiden: Brill, 2017), 187–208.

(20) Timothy H. Lim, *Holy Scripture in the Qumran Commentaries and Pauline Letters* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997), 50. Cf. William H. Brownlee, *The Midrash Pesher of Habakkuk* (SBLMS 24; Missoula, MT: Scholars Press, 1979), 191–92, who cites approvingly Chaim Rabin, “Notes on the Habakkuk Scroll and the Zadokite Documents,” *VT* 5/2 (1955): 148–62 (158–59): “simultaneous interpretation of two variant readings.” See, in particular, the valuable discussion of Lim’s ideas in the contribution to this issue by Pieter B. Hartog, “Textual Fixity and Fluidity in the Hellenistic and Roman Periods;” Hartog prefers to see these variant readings as arising independently, rather than being the result of the author of the pesher consulting more than one version of his base text.

(21) For the details see Brooke, “E pluribus unum,” 113–14.

(22) As I have argued in George J. Brooke, “The Qumran Pescharim and the Text of Isaiah in the Cave 4 Manuscripts,” in *Biblical Hebrew, Biblical Texts: Essays in Memory of Michael P. Weitzman* (ed. Ada Rapoport-Albert and Gillian Greenberg; JSOTSup 333; The Hebrew Bible and its Versions 2; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001), 304–20.

round, the pluralism of the scriptural texts makes it unlikely that in all the exegetical literature only one form of a scriptural book was ever used in each case.

2. Diachronic plurality within some of the pesharim and other exegetical works

For my second main point, I wish to draw attention to two matters that seem to indicate something of the ongoing development of written forms of commentary within the sectarian corpus. This is by way of supporting Pieter Hartog's forceful comment: "the Pesharim are no unified compositions, but reflect a literary development." (23)

The first matter concerns the way in which several compositions seem to contain excerpts from other works. That seems to be especially the case, for example, in Commentary on Genesis A (4Q252) in which there are longer and shorter passages of commentary on various sections of Genesis from chapters 6 to 49. Amongst those passages are a range of different types of commentary, from re-writing to pesher. That those passages are extracts from other works can be strongly inferred not merely by their generic variety but also by the fact that the first passage seems to begin with a sentence which presupposes earlier text that is not cited—there is use of a possessive suffix with no extant antecedent. In addition, the comment on the Aqedah seems to begin in the middle of the narrative, at Gen 22:10, rather than to represent what might have been a complete and more intelligible narrative section with its embedded commentary. It is not impossible that some of the so-called continuous pesharim, such as 4QpIsa B (which jumps from Isa 5:14 to Isa 5:24) or 4QpIsa C (frags 8–10 seem to jump from Isa 14:8 to Isa 14:26), should likewise be considered as assembled from extracts from other more continuous works.

The most well-preserved of the so-called continuous pesharim is the Cave 1 Pesher Habakkuk. As one of the first scrolls to be published, it has controlled much of the scholarly conversation about sectarian scriptural commentary as actualizing exegesis of one sort or another. (24) In a remarkable way Pesher Habakkuk has some highly distinctive

(23) Pieter B. Hartog, "Interlinear Additions and Literary Development in 4Q163/*Pesher Isaiah C*, 4Q169/*Pesher Nahum*, and 4Q171/*Pesher Psalms A*," *RevQ* 28/2 (2016): 267–77 (268).

(24) Such scholarly interest is summarised in the fact that it has generated more single-volume commentaries than any other pesher: Karl Elliger, *Studien zum Habakuk-Kommentar vom Toten Meer* (BHT 15; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1953); William H. Brownlee, *The Midrash Pesher of Habakkuk*; Bilhah Nitzan, *Pesher Habakkuk: A Scroll from the Wilderness of Judaea (1QpHab)* (Jerusalem: Bialik Institute, 1986);

features. (25) Amongst those features are the fact that it is written on just two sheets of skin at least one of which was ruled before it was cut. The two sheets contain room for seven columns of writing each, though the second sheet actually only contains six columns. Here, I draw attention to just three features of the scroll, developing some of my own observations in the light of perceptive comments made in a multi-author 2013 contribution to Alan Crown's memorial volume. (26) These features make it difficult to think of the scroll as an autograph.

The first feature is obvious. There is widespread agreement that the scroll is the work of two scribes, with the second hand starting in column 12. In addition to the fact that Peshar Habakkuk is the product of two hands, it has also been argued that the principal hand of Peshar Habakkuk is indistinguishable from the hand of 11QTemple^b. (27) To have one scribe writing at least two scrolls, containing somewhat dissimilar kinds of composition also seems to count against Peshar Habakkuk being an autograph.

The second feature which has been widely discussed concerns the particular scribal sign in the margin at 1QpHab II 5. Whereas in several places in the manuscript there are marginal crosses, at 1QpHab II 5 the marginal mark appears as an aleph. In my opinion and that of others this is unlikely to be the mistaken copying of a scribal sign. (28) Rather it seems to be indicative of something else in the copying process. The interpretation of Hab 1:5 is extensive and seems to fall into two distinct parts. The first, which probably was introduced with a standard peshar formula, reads as follows:

Timothy H. Lim, *The Peshar Habakkuk* (Oxford Commentaries on the Dead Sea Scrolls; Oxford; Oxford University Press, forthcoming).

(25) I have mapped out some of the distinctive traits of the manuscript of 1QpHab in a 2008 conference contribution subsequently published as George J. Brooke, "Physicality, Paratextuality and Peshar Habakkuk," in *On the Fringe of Commentary: Metatextuality in Ancient Near Eastern and Ancient Mediterranean Cultures* (ed. Sydney H. Aufrère, Philip S. Alexander, and Zlatko Pleše; OLA 232; Leuven: Peeters, 2014), 175–93.

(26) Stephen Llewelyn, Stephanie Ng, Gareth Wearne and Alexandra Wrathall, "A Case for Two *Vorlagen* Behind the Habakkuk Commentary (1QpHab)," in *Keter Shem Tov: Essays on the Dead Sea Scrolls in Memory of Alan Crown* (ed. Shani Tzoref and Ian Young; Perspectives on Hebrew Scriptures and Its Contexts 20; Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2013), 123–50.

(27) Johannes P. M. van der Ploeg, "Une halakha inédite de Qumrân," in *Qumrân: se piété, sa théologie et son milieu* (ed. Matthias Delcor; BETL 46; Paris: Duculot – Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1978), 107; idem, "Les manuscrits de la grotte XI de Qumrân," *RevQ* 12/1 (1985): 3–15 (9).

(28) Llewelyn et al., "A Case for Two *Vorlagen* Behind the Habakkuk Commentary (1QpHab)," 125 and nn. 6–7.

The interpretation of the word concerns] the traitors of the Man of the Lie, since they do not [believe in the words of] the Teacher of Righteousness from the mouth of God; and (it concerns) (*w'l*) the traito[rs of the] new [covenant] si[n]ce they did not believe in the covenant of God [and dishonoured] his holy na[me].

The second, indicated with the marginal aleph, has a highly unusual introductory formula and runs as follows from the margin:

Likewise (*wkn*): *Blank* The interpretation of the word [concerns the traitors in the last days. They are violator[s of the coven]ant who will not believe when they hear all that is going [to happen t]o the final generation, from the mouth of the Priest whom God has placed wi[thin the Commun]ity, to foretell the fulfilment of all the words of his servants, the prophets, [by] means of whom God has declared all that is going to happen to his people Is[rael]. (29)

In the first section of interpretation there are two problematic groups: the traitors of the Man of the Lie (cf. 1QpHab X 9; CD I 14–15; VIII 13; XIX 25–26) (30) and the traitors of the new covenant (cf. CD XX 10–11). In the second section of interpretation with its unusual introduction the interpretation is concerned with a third problematic group, namely the traitors in the last days (cf. CD I 20). The first section can be understood to deal with traitors outside and inside the community, largely in the past, whereas the second section concerns traitors of the last days, understood as present or future. It is possible that the second section of interpretation was added as a supplement to an earlier form of the commentary, perhaps under the influence of other sectarian compositions or to comment on ongoing traitorous behaviour in the sectarian movement. There is no need to be very precise about the social and historical circumstances that might have given rise to this addition. All that is important is that the marginal mark and the special introductory “likewise” (*wkn*) imply something supplementary and are a strong indication that Peshar Habakkuk is an enhanced version of a more original literary form of the continuous commentary.

A third indication that 1QpHab is unlikely to be an autograph rests in the instances of haplography and dittography in 1QpHab VII 1–2. In the first case, in line 1, a second *'l* is omitted provoking the supra-linear correction of a second *'l* so that both the designation “God”

(29) Trans. Florentino García Martínez and Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans; Leiden: Brill, 2000), 1:13.

(30) For some suitable clarification of the sobriquets here, see Matthew A. Collins, *The Use of Sobriquets in the Qumran Dead Sea Scrolls* (LSTS 67; London: T & T Clark, 2009), 26–29 and elsewhere.

and the preposition “to” are present in the text. In the second case *’l* is repeated at the start of line 2 and is corrected by being dotted. It is such minor copying errors that are further evidence that 1QpHab is not a newly created text and manuscript, though it might possibly be a special edition of the running commentary on Hab 1–2.

3. Synchronic plurality: more than one commentary on the same scriptural base text.

In addition to the fact that a verse such as Num 24:17 is used more than once in the sect’s exegetical literature, the main evidence for what I am designating as synchronic plurality derives from the series of surviving pesharim on the book of Isaiah. Most notably in some of the extant fragments of 4QpIsa A and 4QpIsa C there is surviving interpretation of the same scriptural verses. However, there are two types of significant difference.

First the scriptural verses are divided into lemmata in slightly different ways in each peshar. The following comments refer to the passages where there is overlap between the two manuscripts. 4QpIsa A, fragment 1, column 1, has Isa 10:20–21, followed by interpretation; fragments 2–6, column 2, probably has Isa 10:22–23, with 10:22a repeated in a secondary citation in the interpretation; Isa 10:24–27 with brief interpretation; and Isa 10:28–32. 4QpIsa C, fragments 4–6, column 2, cites Isa 10:20–22a, with a probable secondary re-quotation of Isa 10:22a; then Isa 10:22b–23 as a logical run on rather than as a separate lemma; then Isa 10:24 (or more). Although there is a re-quotation of Isa 10:22a in both versions, in 4QpIsa A it follows the initial citation of Isa 10:22–23, and in 4QpIsa C it follows the citation of Isa 10:20–22a. The principal lemmata are delimited differently.

Second, the interpretations given to the verses that do overlap do not seem to coincide. The comparison is principally a matter of semblance, since both manuscripts are quite fragmentary at the points of overlap. Not surprisingly different editions and translations offer several rather different readings in some places, but whichever edition one follows the differences between the interpretations in the two manuscripts remain. For example, according to *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition* the interpretation of Isa 10:20–21 in 4QpIsa A refers to “Israel,” “the men of his army,” and “priests,” whereas in 4QpIsa C the few extant words concern “the final [days],” and “going into captivity.” The interpretation of the re-quoted Isa 10:22a in 4QpIsa A covers two and a half lines and is rendered as “[Its interpretation concerns] [... to des]troy on the da[y of slaugh]ter; and many will per[ish ...] [... but they will be s]aved, surely, by their plan[ting] in the land [...]” In

4QpIsa C the interpretation covers a single line and is rendered as “Its interpretation concerns the reduction [...]” (31) Even allowing for slight differences in column width, the length of the interpretations indicates considerable variance.

Both the previous points seem to indicate without much doubt that the two commentaries on Isaiah where there is some extant overlap were sufficiently different to be thought of not as mere versions of one archetype, but as alternative compositions. It is such a conclusion that has resulted in the designations of the Isaiah pesharim being adjusted in the forthcoming re-edition from having raised letter tags, indicating copies of the same composition, to having capital letters, indicating different compositions. There are differences of other kinds between some of the other Isaiah pesharim too. For 4QpIsa A and 4QpIsa C there is another factor to be included in the discussion. It is noteworthy that 4QpIsa C is written on papyrus. There can be ongoing discussion as to why that might be so, but one plausible suggestion is that most of the major sectarian compositions are extant in just one, occasionally two, papyrus copies. Were such copies deemed archival in some sense, even though alternative versions of the compositions concerned were in circulation? (32) Whatever the case, the diversity of material used for the manuscripts needs attention and seems to be a further contributing factor to the better appreciation of the differences between the evidence at hand, rather than that we have autograph manuscripts.

4. Diversity and Plurality: the commentaries on Isaiah, Hosea and the Psalms

It is clear from the evidence that survives, especially from Caves 1 and 4 that overall in the collection of manuscripts coming from the caves associated with Qumran, there are multiple commentaries on some scriptural texts. Three scriptural works in particular have multiple commentaries, Isaiah, Hosea and the Psalms.

(31) García Martínez and Tigchelaar, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition*, 1:313–315, 321. The restorations and translations of Horgan are considerably different: see Maurya P. Horgan, “Pesharim,” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek Texts with English Translations. Volume 6B: Pesharim, Other Commentaries, and Related Documents* (ed. James H. Charlesworth et al.; PTSDDSP; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck; Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox, 2002), 56–57, 86–87.

(32) See the more detailed argumentation about the use of papyrus in George J. Brooke, “Choosing between Papyrus and Skin: Cultural Complexity and Multiple Identities in the Qumran Library,” in *Jewish Cultural Encounters in the Ancient Mediterranean and Near Eastern World* (ed. Mladen Popović, Miles Schoonover, and Marijn Vendenbergh; JSJSup 178; Leiden: Brill, 2017), 119–35.

For Isaiah there seem to be at least six commentaries. (33) Three features of the commentaries are noteworthy for difference. First, as described in the previous section of this paper, two of them contain overlaps where differences are more prominent than similarities. One might expect differences to be present in the other commentaries too.

Second, there is compositional diversity amongst them. On the one hand, some of the Isaiah commentaries, such as 3QpIsa and 4QpIsa A, seem generally to have scriptural lemmata of one or two verses, together with comment more or less in a format that might be understood as generally characteristic of the continuous pesharim as running commentaries. On the other hand, others, such as 4QpIsa C, have extensive scriptural lemmata, sometimes of four or more verses, and quite often with only the briefest of comments. Unless one is to suppose that by the time the commentator reached certain sections of Isaiah, he thought he could assume much of the content of his exegesis and avoid repetition, then it is likely that the differences in the length of the lemmata and comments reflects differing exegetical approaches.

Third, the material evidence for the scrolls of Isaiah strongly suggests that the book of Isaiah was sometimes, or even customarily, copied in two halves during the Second Temple period. (34) It is likely that the Isaiah commentaries were similarly concerned only with certain sections of Isaiah, since none contains running commentary that covers both parts of the book, and it is difficult to imagine a manuscript with commentary from Isa 1 to Isa 66—an unusually long scroll would be required. It is clear, however, that the book of Isaiah was understood as a whole, since 4QpIsa E contains citations from both halves of the book. The majority of fragments contain citations from Isa 11–32, but if the fragments are suitably assigned, there is also a quotation or sub-quotation of Isa 40:12.

(33) See, *inter alia*, in reverse date order, George J. Brooke, “Isaiah in Some of the Non-Scriptural Dead Sea Scrolls,” in *Transmission and Interpretation of the Book of Isaiah in the Context of Intra- and Interreligious Debates* (ed. Florian Wilk; BETL 280; Leuven: Peeters, 2016), 243–60; *idem*, “On Isaiah at Qumran,” in “*As Those Who Are Taught*”: *The Interpretation of Isaiah from the LXX to the SBL* (ed. Claire M. McGinnis and Patricia K. Tull; SBLSym 27; Atlanta, GA: SBL, 2006), 69–85; *idem*, “Isaiah in the Pesharim and Other Qumran Texts,” in *Writing and Reading the Scroll of Isaiah: Studies of an Interpretive Tradition* (ed. Craig Broyles and Craig A. Evans; VTSup 70; Formation and Interpretation of Old Testament Literature 1; Leiden: Brill, 1997), 609–32.

(34) See George J. Brooke, “The Bisection of Isaiah in the Scrolls from Qumran,” in *Studia Semitica: The Journal of Semitic Studies Jubilee Volume* (ed. Philip S. Alexander et al.; JSSSup 16; Oxford: Oxford University Press on behalf of the University of Manchester, 2005), 73–94.

Alongside the six manuscripts containing commentaries on Isaiah can be set the two manuscripts with commentary on passages of Hosea and the three or more with commentary on the Psalms. For Hosea the extant large fragment of 4QpHos A has considerable sections of two columns with lemmata from Hos 2:8 to 2:14. The commentary is relatively extensive, not unlike that of 1QpHab. The much smaller fragments assigned to 4QpHos B provide lemmata and comment from Hos 5:13 to 8:14. Roman Vielhauer has undertaken the most extensive analysis of the two commentaries and has concluded that “a material reconstruction of both manuscripts has shown that we have to distinguish between two formally very distinct works, the first of which merely draws on select passages of Hosea while the latter quotes and comments on the entire book.” (35) Diversity in the material evidence does not result in the two commentaries being concerned with very different perspectives on Hosea; for Vielhauer an “overview of explicit Hosea quotations present in the Qumran manuscripts shows an amazingly coherent pattern on how the book of Hosea was read at Qumran. Constitutive for the comprehension of the book seems to be a differentiation within Israel, separating the righteous from the sinners.” (36)

For the Psalms Horgan is content to offer editions of three commentaries: 4QpPs A (4Q171), 1QpPs (1Q16), and 4QpPs B (4Q173). (37) 4QpPs A has running commentary on Pss 37, 45, and 60, though only Pss 37 and 45 are in running sequence on the same fragment. It is evident that what survives is a commentary on select psalms only. 1QpPs comprises eighteen fragments, some of which seem to have citation from and commentary on Ps 68; the Kittim are mentioned in the comment on Ps 68:31 in frag. 9, line 4. 4QpPs B is extant in four fragments; frag. 4 cites Ps 129:7–8 accompanied with a small amount of extant commentary which cannot be restored sufficiently to be intelligible. In addition, mention should be made of 4Q173a, a fragment once allocated to 4QpPs B, but now rightly treated separately; it contains a partial citation of Ps 118:20 with the divine epithet and its accompanying preposition (*l'l*) in a script akin to Cryptic A. (38) Are these all autographs?

(35) Roman Vielhauer, “Reading Hosea at Qumran,” in *The Mermaid and the Partridge: Essays from the Copenhagen Conference on Revising Texts from Cave Four* (ed. George J. Brooke and Jesper Høgenhaven; STDJ 96; Leiden: Brill, 2011), 91. His comment is based on his earlier work, Roman Vielhauer, “Materielle Rekonstruktion und historische Einordnung der beiden Pescharim zum Hoseabuch (4QpHos^a und 4QpHos^b),” *RevQ* 20/1 (2001): 39–91.

(36) Vielhauer, “Reading Hosea at Qumran,” 107.

(37) Horgan, “Pesharim,” 6–33.

(38) See Søren Holst, “4Q173a: Fragment of an Eschatological Midrash?” in *The Mermaid and the Partridge*, 119–27.

Probably not when one sees, for example, how 4QpPs A can be juxtaposed with other compositions from the Qumran caves for its better understanding. (39)

Conclusion

This paper has not presented anything particularly novel. I have attempted to collect some data together which strongly suggests that Frank Cross was wrong to argue and to repeat his argument for a generation that most of the commentaries found in the Qumran caves are autographs. Rather, the evidence is now widely recognised to indicate a rich diversity of approaches to the exegesis of unfulfilled blessings, curses, poems, and prophetic oracles. There might be some overall coherence of theological approach in much of the content of the material, but there is also a wide range of forms of commentary and of exegetical techniques that suggests that ongoing study of key texts was important, rather than the regurgitation of a fixed set of exegetical tropes determined once and for all by some community leader and reproduced in autograph copies by subsequent commentators.

George J. BROOKE
University of Manchester

(39) See George J. Brooke, "The Pescharim and the Origin of the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *Methods of Investigation of the Dead Sea Scrolls and the Khirbet Qumran Site: Present Realities and Future Prospects* (ed. Michael O. Wise et al.; Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences 722; New York: New York Academy of Sciences, 1994), 339–54.

TEXTUAL VARIANTS AND PESHER EXEGESIS IN THE DAMASCUS DOCUMENT

Summary

An analysis of interpretations of scriptural quotations interwoven into the Admonitions in the Damascus Document reveals that the author employed pesher exegesis built on variant versions of prophetic verses. Exegetical hints the author has left in the work prove that he was familiar with different variants and capitalized on them to enrich his interpretations. This pesher technique is well-known from the continuous pesharim, and its occurrence in the Damascus Document provides more evidence as to the close connection between the Admonitions of the Damascus Document and pesher literature.

THIS paper will address the link between textual variants of biblical verses and the pesharim in the Damascus Document. Pesharim, which present a rich and sophisticated form of textual exegesis, are well known for their multiple interpretations of the same word. As William Brownlee and Bilhah Nitzan have demonstrated in their studies of Pesher Habakkuk and the techniques of the pesharim, these differing interpretations are sometimes based on variants of scriptural verses. (1) Here I will focus on two examples to examine whether this phenomenon also occurs in the Damascus Document and, if so, whether its form is similar to that which appears in Pesher Habakkuk. This examination will also provide an opportunity to discuss the genre of the Admonitions of the Damascus Document and the biblical exegesis in which it engages.

(1) Thus, for example, the pesher on Hab 1:11 in 1QpHab IV 9–13, which evinces familiarity with both variants: מ"ש"א and מ"ש"ב. See William H. Brownlee, *The Midrash Pesher of Habakkuk* (Ann Arbor, MI: SBL Scholars Press, 1979), 81–82; Bilhah Nitzan, *Pesher Habakkuk: A Scroll from the Wilderness of Judaea* (Jerusalem: Bialik Institute, 1986), 46–47, 163–64 [Hebrew].

מצור/מצוד in Hab 2:1 and CD III 12–IV 19

The first example of the role of textual variants of prophetic texts in the Damascus Document is the interchanging of the words **מצוד** and **מצור** in the reworked version of Hab 1:2 found in CD IV 11–12. This passage contains the phrase: “**כי אם לעמוד איש על מצודו**” (“each will stand on his own citadel”). (2) This expression appears at the end of the literary unite (CD IV 7–12),, which describes the author’s own period, the “time of iniquity,” during which those who wish to join the community may undertake to begin obeying the rules and regulations of the covenant made with the founders, and after which this will cease to be possible. (3)

The phrase “each will stand on his own citadel” (**לעמוד ... על מצודו**) clearly alludes to the verse in Hab 2:1: “I will stand on my watch and take up my station on the citadel (**מצור**),” (4) which depicts Habakkuk waiting for God’s word, expecting to be instructed as to how to proceed. (5) The term **מצוד** denotes a protected high place such as a citadel, fortress or watchtower. Peshier Habakkuk quotes this and the following verse (1QpHab VI 12–16), explaining that they refer to the current generation and stating that the end of this period is unknown: “Then God told Habakkuk to write down what would happen to {to} the generation to come; but when that period would be complete he did not make known to him” (1QpHab VII 1–2). (6)

The Damascus Document, in the passage we have cited above and preceding lines (IV 7–12), relates how the members of the community should undertake to stand guard in anticipation of receiving God’s word regarding the conclusion of the period in which they live: “when the total years of this present age are complete” (CD IV 10–11). At

(2) The English translations of the Qumranic texts are taken from Emanuel Tov, ed., *The Dead Sea Scrolls Electronic Library on CD-ROM* (Leiden: Brill, 2006), with slight adaptations of mine.

(3) For this division of the literary unit, see Édouard Cothenet, “Le Document de Damas,” in *Les textes de Qumran: Traduits et annotés*. Vol. 2 (ed. Jean Carmignac, Édouard Cothenet, and Hubert Lignée; Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1963), 130–204 (158–60).

(4) The English translations of MT are taken from JPS. The etymology of **מצור** and **מצוד** and the significance of the use of both will be explained below. Since the two words are used interchangeably in literature of the Second Temple period, and the difference between them purely orthographical, I have chosen to translate both with the same English word, “citadel.” In every instance I have juxtaposed the Hebrew word used, so that the reader will know which variant has been employed.

(5) Elizabeth R. Achtemeier, *Nahum–Malachi* (IBCTP; Atlanta, GA: John Knox Press, 1986), 41–43.

(6) See Brownlee, *Midrash Peshier*, 108–10; Nitzan, *Peshier Habakkuk*, 171.

that point, it states, it will no longer be possible to join the community, since every individual must be held personally accountable on the approaching day of judgment. Quoting Hab 2:1 in this context, it appears to interpret that verse in an eschatological fashion similar to Peshet Habakkuk. A third sectarian text, 4QCatena 10–11 6, quotes Hab 2:1 in a clearly eschatological context as well. Unfortunately, the passage is so fragmentary that its details are not clear. (7)

The quotations and translations of Hab 2:1 in Jewish literature of the Second Temple period have different variants using either the term **מצור** or **מצוד**. The interchanging of **ד** and **ר** is a well-known common scribal error in paleo-Hebrew script and square script and is possibly the primary reason for the variants in our case. (8) Etymologically speaking, **מצור** denotes siege or a military encirclement. The only derivative of the root **צור** in the Hebrew Scriptures is the feminine **מצודה** (“citadel”; see Isa 29:3; Nah 2:2; 2 Chr 11:10). Biblical wisdom literature, however, employs the term **מצוד** in this sense (cf. Prov 12:12; Job 19:6; Qoh 7:26, 9:14) (9) as well as that of a snare or net (cf. Job 19:6; Qoh 7:26). (10) By the Second Temple period, the two words appear to carry the same meaning. It should be noted, for example, that in 1QIsa^a, Isa 29:3 reads **מצודות** instead of the MT’s **מצודות**. (11) Apart from this difference, textual variants also include or omit the possessive pronoun after the word **מצור** or **מצוד**. Here are the textual variants of Hab 2:1:

MT: “I will stand on my watch and take up my station on the citadel (על מצור).”

LXX: “I will stand upon my watch and mount the rock (ἐπὶ πέτρᾱν).”

Trg. Jon.: “I stand on my watch, will serve on my citadel (על מצודתי).”

1QpHab VI 13: “I will stand on my watch and take up my station on my citadel (על מצורי).”

CD IV 11–12: “Each will stand on his own citadel (על מצודו).”

4Q177 (Catena^a) 6 11–01: “Each will stand on his own citadel (על מצודו).”

Here I would like to suggest that the Damascus Document’s author was familiar with the two variants of Hab 2:1 and that his interpretation to the verse is built upon both, even though only the version **מצוד**

(7) See Annette Steudel, *Der Midrasch zur Eschatologie aus der Qumran-Gemeinde (4QMidrEscha)* (STDJ 13; Leiden: Brill, 1994), 72 and 93.

(8) See Edward Y. Kutscher, *Language and Linguistic Background of the Isaiah Scroll* (Jerusalem: Magnes, 1959), 196 [Hebrew].

(9) See HALOT, 622–23; BDB, 844–45, 848–49.

(10) HALOT, 622.

(11) Kutscher, *Language and Linguistic Background*, 196.

is quoted in CD. The simple explanation for the use of the word מצור in CD instead of מצור, scribal error, (12) does not take into consideration the sophisticated style of exegesis employed by the author. The same is true of the suggestion that the author was only familiar with the version מצור in Hab 2:1. This paper will show that the author of the Damascus Document was aware of both versions and alludes to both in his interpretation. In fact, three different words serve him in his interpretive work throughout this literary unit (CD III 12–IV 11): מצור, מצוד, and משמרת (“watch”). We can deduce from the parallelism in Hab 2:1 that the Hebrew words מצור and משמרת are taken to be either synonyms or very close in definition. This is true of מצור and מצוד in the Hebrew of the Second Temple period as well. In examining the interplay of these three words, we can expose the Damascus Document’s creative use of variants to create new meaning.

Through the interlinking of different verses, allusions, and assonance, the Damascus Document capitalizes on variants in the prophetic text to present three concentric circles of exegesis that build on one another. The first understands מצור as a synonym of משמרת and views both as describing the community, depicting it as a fortified city (עיר מצור). In the second, the word “watch” (“משמרת”) is interpreted as referring to the priestly service in the temple, the implication being that the isolationist community members are the heirs of Zadok who maintain the sacred service, and this concept is tied to the idea of the community’s laws as a protective wall. In the third layer, the citadel (מצוד) is used to evoke the image of a snare; when the community’s members wall themselves off from the rest of Israel and preserve the integrity of the Temple service, they avoid capture in Belial’s traps (מצודות בליעל).

מצור/גדר/חוק — Citadel/Wall/Law

In the first exegetical circle, the citadel (מצוד) is understood as an encircling wall separating the Qumran community from the rest of the Jews. This signification is clear from CD’s juxtaposition of two prophetic verses:

But when the age is completed, according to the number of those years, there shall be no more joining the house of Judah, but each man shall stand on his citadel (מצוד). The wall is built, the boundary far-removed (נבנתה הגדר רחוק החיק). (CD IV 10–12) (13)

(12) Elisha Qimron, “The Text of CDC,” in *The Damascus Document Reconsidered* (ed. Magen Broshi; Jerusalem: The Israel Exploration Society & The Shrine of the Book, 1992), 9–50 (17).

(13) I follow Qimron, “The Text of CDC,” 17, who reads החוק in light of the biblical verse alluded to (Mic 7:11).

Here, the Damascus Document ties the verse in Habakkuk to another in Micah (7:11): “A day for building your walls – that day is far-removed (יום לבנות גְּדִירֶיךָ יום הַהוּא יִרְחַק-חֶק).” In the era depicted in this passage, the community will not accept new members; those who already belong to it are commanded to stand guard on the wall that will have been erected. The parallelism drawn between the languages in Hab 2:1 and Mic 7:11 reveals that the Damascus Document’s author understands the term מִצּוּר in Habakkuk as denoting a boundary meant to keep others out. Thus, the Damascus Document represents the community as a separate entity enclosed behind a wall.

A similar image appears in the Community Rule (1QS VIII 7–8) and Hodayot:

But I shall be as one who enters a fortified city (עִיר מִצּוּר), as one who seeks refuge behind a high wall ... to [build] a mighty [wall] which shall not sway; and no man entering there shall stagger. For no enemy shall ever invade [it, since its doors shall be] doors of protection through which no man shall pass; and its bars shall be firm and no man shall break them. No rabble shall enter in with their weapons of war until all the [arrows] of the war of wickedness have come to an end. (1QH^a XIV 27–32) (14)

This passage, which quotes the term “fortified city (עִיר מִצּוּר)” from the following verse in Micah (7:12), highlights the protection afforded to those belonging to the community, which will shield its members against strangers during the war against the evildoers. (15) This exegesis also occurs in a passage from 1QH^a XIV 27–32, which likewise depicts the separatist community as a “fortified city.” In quoting Mic 7:11, CD implicitly evokes the image of the fortified city in the verse immediately following.

The Damascus Document clarifies the nature of these fortifications and partitions by citing Mic 7:11 and interpreting the wall mentioned therein as a metaphor for rules and laws. (16) This interpretation is built

(14) Cf. 1QH^a XV 11–12; 1QS VIII 7–8. See Jacob Licht, *The Rule Scroll: A Scroll from the Wilderness of Judaea 1QS, 1QSa, 1QSB* (Jerusalem: Bialik Institute, 1965), 175; Hartmut Stegemann and Eileen Schuller, *Qumran Cave 1. III: 1QHodayota* (DJD 40; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2009), 183 and 192–94.

(15) On the analogy between the community and a fortified city see Licht, *The Rule Scroll*, 175. It should be noted that although the term “fortified cities” in v. 12 refers to the cities of Egypt, CD dissociates the image from its original context, coopting it for its own purposes, i.e., the citadel and walls of the community. This instantiates the “automatization method” characteristic of Qumran pesharim in which words from the prophetic verse are dissociated from their original context and given a new meaning in the peshet. See Karl Elliger, *Studien zum Habakuk-Kommentar vom Toten Meer* (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1953), 139–42; Nitzan, *Pesher Habakkuk*, 51–54.

(16) Rabbinic literature as well applies the imagery of barriers to describe halakhic boundaries. This is the meaning of the injunction: עָשׂוּ סִיג לְתוֹרָה (“make a

on the common allegorical image of law as a barrier, wall, or boundary, (17) expressing the idea that the laws of the community are a bulwark that protects it. The community is separated from the rest of Israel by its halakhah—the way in which its members interpret and observe the commands of Scripture. When the Damascus Document asserts that no one will be permitted to join the community, the command that each member “stand on his own citadel (מצודר)” thus carries the additional connotation that they must keep the Torah laws in accordance with the sect’s interpretation.

If so, the first exegetical circle presents the citadel in Habakkuk as analogous to the fortified city mentioned by Micah. The association between them furthers the conception of halakhic self-segregation as the chief means of protection of the community. The association between these two verses hidden in the passage supports the conclusion that although the author of the Damascus Document uses the term “מצוד” in his quotation of Habakkuk 2:1, he was familiar with the variant “מצור” as well, which parallels the image of the “fortified city (עיר מצור)” in Micah 7:12.

מצור/משמרת/משמרת המקדש – Citadel/Watch/Sacred Service

The Damascus Document’s second circle of interpretation links Hab 2:1 to the concept of the Temple service through association with an explicit peshar on the following verse in Ezekiel (44:15):

But the Levitical priests descended from Zadok, who maintained the service (משמרת) of my sanctuary when the people of Israel went astray from me—they shall approach me to minister for me; they shall stand before me to offer me fat and blood—declares the Lord God.

This verse states that the sons of Zadok maintained the sacred service (משמרת המקדש) and were not contaminated by the impurity with which the other priestly families were defiled. the Damascus Document’s peshar on this verse, which is the centerpiece of the literary unit under discussion (III 12–IV 11), identifies the community with the son of Zadok:

“The priests”: they are the repentant of Israel, who go out of the land of Judah ... And “the sons of Zadok”: they are the chosen of Israel, the ones called by name, who are to appear in the last days. (IV 2–4)

fence for the Torah”; *m. Avot* 1:1). See Marcus A. Jastrow, *Dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmud Babli and Yerushalmi, and the Midrashic Literature* (2 vols; New York: Pardes, 1950), 1:214–15.

(17) Cf. Isa 5:14; Jer 5:22; *BDB*, 349.

The term *משמרת* resurfaces with a different sense in Hab 2:1, where it denotes a watch, as a parallel to the vigil on the citadel that we have discussed above. Although the Damascus Document does not quote this part of the verse in Habakkuk, it implicitly relates to it in the interpretation by creating associative verbal chain between the verses in Ezek 44:15 and Hab 2:1. It thus associates the concepts of *משמרת* (“standing watch”) and *מצוד* (“citadel”) with the sacred service (*משמרת* *המקדש*) mentioned in Ezek 44:15. What’s more, in some scriptural passages, the root *עמ"ד* signifies priestly service in the holy place. (18) In light of this sense of the root, and of the Damascus Document’s reference to Ezekiel in close proximity to its quotation of Habakkuk, it stands to reason that the Damascus Document interprets Hab 2:1 in peshar form, ascribing to the phrase “על משמרת אעמודה” two additional meanings relating specifically to the Temple service: “I shall continue to serve in the Temple” and “I shall safeguard the Temple and its laws.” As other Qumranic texts make clear (cf. 1QS VIII 5–6; 4QFlorilegium), the image of the Temple serves as a symbol of the community itself, adding another layer of significance in which the members of the sect must serve and safeguard the collective. (19)

In a sophisticated, albeit covert, exegetical move, the Damascus Document thereby builds on the first interpretive circle seen above, creating a conceptual association between all the literary units we have seen and linking the ideas from the pesharim on the “faithful house (*בית נאמן*)” and the sons of Zadok with that of standing watch over the fortified community. The faithful house God preserves is that of the sons of Zadok, the loyal priests who have maintained the Temple service, i.e., the community itself. (20) Now, once the wall has been erected so that no one else can join, the members are responsible for keeping the laws according to their unique mode of interpretation, guaranteeing their survival until the last days. The exegesis embedded in the juxtaposition of Hab 2:1, Mic 7:11, and Ezek 44:15 makes it clear that the community’s members—symbolized by the priests, the sons of Zadok—must stand guard by continuing to serve in the metaphorical temple of

(18) Cf. Deut 10:8; *HALOT*, 841.

(19) On this idea, see Devorah Dimant, “4QFlorilegium and the Idea of the Community as Temple,” in *Hellenica et Judaica: Hommage à Valentin Nikiprowetzky* (ed. André Caquot, Mireille Hadas-Lebel, and Jean Riaud; Leuven: Peeters, 1986), 165–89.

(20) On the group of pesharim on the “faithful/sure house” (1 Sam 2:35) and the “sons of Zadok” (Ezek 44:15), see Liora Goldman, “The Exegesis and Structure of Pesharim in the Damascus Document,” in *Dynamics of Exegesis and Language at Qumran* (ed. Devorah Dimant and Reinhard G. Kratz; FAT 2/35; Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 2009), 193–202 (194–97).

their community and by preserving the temple service in its purity. They must keep watch by setting boundaries and cordoning themselves off to ensure that no one unfit may join.

The second circle is thus built on the word *משמרת*, which is common to Hab 2:1 (in the sense of a watch) and Ezek 44:15 (denoting the priestly service). The linguistic chain between the verses quoted or alluded to within the passages of the Damascus Document are signposts the author has left behind to make clear the duality of meaning of the words he uses. This example proves that despite the omission of the phrase “I will stand on my watch (*משמרת*)” from the Damascus Document’s quotation of Hab 2:1, it nonetheless underlies the meaning of the passage, with implied dual significance. By reference to and association between all these verses, the author of the Damascus Document builds an entire interpretive edifice around the verse from Habakkuk that enriches the three synonyms: *מצור*, *משמרת*, and *מצוד*, with added meaning, even though only one of them, *מצוד* is written explicitly in the text.

בליעל מצוד/מצודות — Citadel/Traps of Belial

The Damascus Document’s final layer of interpretation links the two previous circles of associations and connotations vis-à-vis the community’s vigil on the citadel (*מצוד*) with their protection against “the traps of Belial (*מצודות בליעל*).”

The exegesis here is based on the linguistic and phonetic similarity between “*מצוד*” and “*מצודות בליעל*,” capitalizing on the dual meaning of the root *צור*. As mentioned earlier, the words *מצור* and *מצוד* are used interchangeably during the Second Temple period, in the sense of a citadel. The choice of the Damascus Document to use “*מצוד*” rather than “*מצור*” is a deliberate decision made to take advantage of the additional meaning of the root *צור* to denote a snare or a trap. The Damascus Document creates a thematic association between the citadel and Belial’s traps by asserting that the community’s untiring watch, i.e., the stringent keeping of the laws determined by the sect’s founders and maintained throughout its existence, must be maintained specifically during the years when Belial wanders freely. During this period, Belial ensnares in his nets those who have not faithfully observed the community’s laws or scriptural law according to the sect’s interpretations, such as lusting after money, defiling the Temple, and adultery (IV 12–19). (21)

(21) See also Annette Steudel, “God and Belial,” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Fifty Years after their Discovery* (ed. Lawrence H. Schiffman et al.; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 2000), 332–40 (334–35).

This final level of interpretation closes the unit and ties it to the next pericope (IV 12–V 19), which describes the sins of the people of Israel that cause them to be trapped by Belial. It elucidates why the community has separated itself halakhically: in order to ensure that each individual take responsibility for himself before the day of judgment and the end of days. All those who have not joined the community and kept the commandments in accordance with its interpretation of them will fall into Belial's hands. This also appears to be why Hab 2:1 is cited in 4QCatena^a (4Q177 10–11 6), which likewise refers to Belial in the framework of its present day. In 4QCatena^a, however, a different judgment of humanity is described, effected through a “crucible” (כור מצרף), wherein only the Sons of Light will be deemed worthy of deliverance before the day of judgment and its process of refinement by fire.

Here, the Damascus Document leaves a clear sign whereby we can trace the author's conscious use of textual variants to further his creative, allusive exegesis—the alliteration and wordplay of מצוד and Belial's מצודות. These linguistic and alliterative link between the terms explains his favoring of מצוד, juxtaposing the community to the congregation of Belial in a dualistic framework typical of sectarian writings. The community is in possession of proper laws, which function for them as a citadel and protective wall (מצוד). Its members are thus secure, while the rest of Israel is defenseless, easy prey for the traps (מצודות) of Belial.

Given this decision, the question of why 4QCatena employs the term מצוד rather than מצוד, as in CD, remains open. Perhaps it is another example of alliteration, following the word מצרף. Whatever the case in this respect, a close analysis of the words and their alliterative qualities in the literary unit of the Damascus Document under investigation, together with the scriptural allusions and quotations it exhibits, thus reveals a well-knit weave of contexts evincing that the author of the Damascus Document was not only familiar with the two variants of Hab 2:1—מצוד and מצוד—but espoused the significance of both, not openly and explicitly à la *Pesher Habakkuk*, but implicitly and subtly.

יֵסִר/סִר in Isa 8:11 and in the Damascus Document

The second example involves the use of allusion to a yet greater extent. It also exhibits many of the same features we have seen in the first, such as a sensitivity to alliteration that creates dual meanings. In this case I would like to show that awareness of two textual variants of Isa 8:11 underlies the author's choice of sobriquets within the Damascus Document. (22)

(22) On epithets as exegesis in peshar literature see Devorah Dimant, “Pesharim, Qumran,” in *Anchor Bible Dictionary* (ed. David N. Freedman; New Haven, CT:

Two similar designations of the community and its opponents can be found in the Damascus Document and other sectarian texts. The opponents of the community are called “strayers (סרי דרך)” (CD I 13, II 6). This moniker indicates the community’s view of those on the outside as those who deviate from God’s path and do not observe scriptural laws. In contrast, the community calls itself “those who turn from the way (סרי מדרך)”—i.e., those who reject the sinful ways of the people and choose the right path, as explained in CD XIX 29: “Thus shall it be with the case of the penitents of Israel who turn from the way of (סרי מדרך) the people because of their love of God.” (23)

These two diametrically opposed epithets are derived from various biblical verses that play on the roots יס״ר, סר״ר, and סר״ר, which contain similar letters and sounds. The pesherists allude to several passages that employ these roots in order to impart a richer range of meanings to the terms they interpret. As in the first example, we find here a play on textual variants of a verse, in this case the interchanging of יס״ר and סר״ר, grounded in an awareness of the two variant readings of Isa 8:11: “For this is what the Lord said to me, when he took me by the hand and charged me (ויסרני) not to walk in the path of that people.” The root יס״ר means to educate or reprove, in this case denoting God’s warning to Isaiah not to follow the ways of the people. The first Isaiah Scroll from Cave 1 and the Peshitta offer a variant reading: “he turned me away (ויסירני).” It is this variant that the Damascus Document employs in formulating the sobriquets סרי דרך and סרי מדרך. The Damascus Document similarly makes it clear that the term is based upon the root סר״ר when it employs the verb to describe those who joined the community but did not keep its rules and regulations as they should have: “they have entered the covenant of repentance but they did not turn away (לא סרו) from traitorous practices” (CD XIX 16–17).

The designation סרי מדרך occurs in 4QFlorilegium as well. Here too, it clearly reflects a conception of turning away, as in 1QIsa^a and the Peshitta:

An in[ter]pretation of “*Blessed is [the] man who does not walk in the counsel of the wicked*” (Ps 1:1). Interpretation of the wor[d concerns] those who turn from the way (סרי מדרך), [] as is written in the Book of Isaiah the prophet for the last [d]ays, “*It happened that with a strong [hand he*

Yale University Press, 1992), 244–51 (245); Liora Goldman, “Biblical Exegesis and Pesher Interpretation in the Damascus Document” (Ph.D. diss., University of Haifa, 2007) [Hebrew]. See for example pages 17–18, 37–38, 92–94, 155–58.

(23) I follow Qimron, “The Text of CDC,” 45, who reads here סרי מדרך. As Qimron aptly notes, the phrase serves as an adjective rather than a verb here, contra the corrupt version in the Genizah fragment: סרו מדרך.

turned me aside from walking on the path] of this people. (Isa 8:11) (4Q174 1–2 i 14–16).

Earlier in CD, however, the designation of the community's opponents as "strayers" is not based on Isa 8:11; it is rather an adjectival peshet constructed from wordplay on the root סר"ר in Hosea:

"A company of traitors": they are the ones who depart from the proper way (סרי דרך). That is the time of which it was written, "Like a stubborn (סברה) cow, so rebelled (סרה) Israel" (Hos 4:16). (I 13–14)

Furthermore, in CD II 6, the epithet occurs as סררי מדרך. This may be an error on the part of the Genizah scribe (or an earlier one) or a deliberate device adopted by the author to enable identification of the prophetic verse (Hos 4:16) from which the name-peshet is derived. Having thus played on the three roots סר"ר, סור, and יס"ר, the Damascus Document goes on to later identify the "strayers" with the "princes of Judah (שרי יהודה)" who remove the boundary markers (CD VIII 3 / XIX 15). In doing so, it adds a further double entendre by incorporating another root, שר"ר, into the exegetical space it has created.

These linguistic indicators represent standard peshet techniques employed to establish new interpretations on the broadest scriptural basis possible. So far in this discussion, we have seen the Damascus Document employs the well-known method of wordplay between similar and related roots—perhaps more prominently than do any of the continuous pesharim. (24) I wish to suggest, however, that the existence of multiple textual variants familiar to the author also constitutes an important tool allowing him to augment this method.

In the previous example cited, the use of divergent variants was incontrovertible, as the author left clues in the passage by evoking associations between the words מצור, משמרת, and מצוד in the passage or in the quotations of and allusions to prophetic verses. In this example, the consultation of variants, while likely, cannot be proven. We know that the Damascus Document quotes Isa 8:11 as employing the root סור rather than יס"ר; we cannot conclusively establish that the author was aware of the other variant as well. However, we can draw on clues elsewhere in the work to allow for an informed hypothesis to this effect. For example, the Damascus Document makes use of the root יס"ר in the sense of education or admonition: "do according to that interpretation

(24) Already Brownlee, in his list of thirteen methods to create pesharim, mentions techniques based on anagrams or using close roots or letters. See William H. Brownlee, "Biblical Interpretation among the Sectaries of the Dead Sea Scrolls," *BA* 19 (1951): 54–76 (54–70).

of the Law in which the first were instructed ([הַתּוֹסֵרוֹ] (IV 8); “all who walk in these [precepts] in perfect holiness according to all the instructions ([יְסוּרֵי] יְסוּרֵי)...” (VII 4–5); “they shall walk according to the law and according to the instructions ([הַיְסוּרִים]), (25) according to the rule of the law” (VII 7–8).

I suggest that within the Damascus Document, the root יס"ר *always* refers solely to the members of the community, who are admonished to separate themselves from the rest of the people. If so, such usage provides strong, albeit indirect, evidence of the author's familiarity with the alternative variant of the verse in Isaiah: “and he charged me ([יִסְרֵנִי]) not to walk in the path of that people” (Isa 8:11). The Damascus Document interprets this charge as a message to the members of the community to set themselves apart from the sinning majority. Only they who have heeded God's warnings and reproofs and scorned the path of those in error are “those who turn from the way.” Therefore, the designation of the community as סרי מדרך could obliquely allude to both versions of Isa 8:11 and their meanings: The community's members are simultaneously those who have given ear to God's instruction and those who must separate themselves from the rest of Israel.

In effect, we have now uncovered an additional device employed in peshar literature: usage of textual variants in biblical texts. As evidenced by the Damascus Document and other pesharim, one of the characteristic marks of the genre is the exploitation of multiple meanings of a word. In this context, divergent readings and/or textual variants serve the peshar, augmenting its typical techniques by allowing more words and verses to be interpreted in various ways. Together with linguistic nuances, this feature constitutes an essential hermeneutical tool, facilitating new interpretations that are inherently more complex, rich, and meaningful in various and diverse contexts.

What can we learn from these findings about the Damascus Document and the literary genre to which the admonitions belong? In my doctoral dissertation, I suggested that the Admonitions comprise a lengthy series of thematic pesharim. (26) Our brief discussion of the relationship between textual variants and interpretation supports this argument. The Admonitions contain texts that clearly satisfy scholars' definition of “isolated pesharim,” with an abundance of allusions to and quotes from the prophetic literature, terms that appear in and are well-known from the continuous pesharim, and hermeneutical techniques that closely correspond to those employed in the continuous pesharim.

(25) My translation. The translation in Tov, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Electronic Library* does not fit the meaning of יְסוּרִים as instructions.

(26) Goldman, “Biblical Exegesis,” 282–87.

The most prominent difference between the Damascus Document and the latter lies in the largely implicit nature of the exegesis in the Damascus Document and the necessity of inferring it from the signs the author has left behind. The lack of explicit interpretations on the one hand, and the interweaving of allusions tied together linguistically and alliteratively on the other, creates the sophisticated exegetical structure of the thematic peshet.

Liora GOLDMAN

University of Haifa and Oranim Academic College

TEXTUAL FIXITY AND FLUIDITY IN THE HELLENISTIC AND ROMAN PERIODS

Alexandrian Homer Scholarship and the Qumran Pesharim

Summary

This article discusses the concepts of textual fluidity and fixity as social constructs by comparing commentaries on Homer and the Hebrew Bible from the Hellenistic and Roman periods. I argue that the quest for textual fixity in Hellenistic scholarship of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* reflects the political context in which this scholarly tradition arose and served as a literary counterpart to the stone monuments erected by the Ptolemaic kings. In contrast, the textual fluidity of the Jewish Scriptures as reflected in the Qumran commentaries emphasises the malleability of the Jewish Scriptures. Rather than literary monuments tied to a political centre, the Jewish Scriptures in the pesharim become resilient writings, which could be read in ever-new ways to make sense of the quickly changing world in which the Peshar commentators found themselves. Thus, in the ancient world, the presentation of particular texts as either fixed or fluid was not a neutral decision, but reflected the aims of textual communities and how they construed the texts that were central to them.

IN this contribution I aim to show how the concepts of textual fluidity and fixity were tied up with the social and historical situations in which different textual communities in the Hellenistic and Roman periods found themselves. I approach fluidity and fixity not in the first place as *attributes* of particular texts, but as *social constructs* which support the interests of the communities in which these texts were

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read, studied, and regarded highly. (1) As a result, I am less interested in the actual state of any particular text in these periods—which in most cases would probably end up on a scale between fluid and fixed—but in the perceptions of these texts by the people that read and studied them. Which texts were presented as fluid or fixed by what communities? And which reasons did these groups have for presenting these texts as they did?

To answer these questions I will look at two intellectual communities from the Hellenistic and Roman periods: Homer scholars working in the Museum and Library in Alexandria and exegetes of the Jewish Scriptures whose work is reflected in the Qumran Dead Sea Scrolls. Both groups of intellectuals wrote commentaries, and it is on these writings (known as hypomnemata and pesharim, respectively) that I shall focus in this article. My argument will be that the Alexandrian Homer scholars and the Qumran exegetes present their base texts in a different way, and that this difference reflects the different socio-historical aims and positions of Homer scholars in Alexandria and exegetes of the Jewish Scriptures in Hellenistic-Roman Palestine. For Alexandrian scholars of the Homeric epics, the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* were hand-written by Homer himself. Though they were corrupted in the course of their long and complicated textual transmission, the Alexandrian scholars believed they had found ways to recover Homer's *ipsissima verba*. The result is a fixed text of Homer, devoid (at least in theory) of later additions and

(1) Several recent studies have applied the concept of “textual communities” to the group(s) that wrote and preserved the Qumran Dead Sea Scrolls. The first to develop this concept was Brian Stock, in his *The Implications of Literacy: Written Language and Models of Interpretation in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1983). The concept has been taken up by, e.g., Catherine Hezser, *Jewish Literacy in Roman Palestine* (TSAJ 81; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2001), 196–99; Mladen Popović, “Qumran as Scroll Storehouse in Times of Crisis? A Comparative Perspective on Judaean Desert Manuscript Collections,” *JSJ* 43 (2012): 551–94; idem, “The Ancient ‘Library’ of Qumran between Urban and Rural Culture,” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls at Qumran and the Concept of a Library* (ed. Sidnie White Crawford and Cecilia Wassen; STDJ 116; Leiden: Brill, 2016), 155–67.

I have elsewhere argued that the groups behind the pesharim and the hypomnemata should be understood more specifically as *scholarly* communities. The difference between textual and scholarly communities, as I see it, is that in textual communities, texts need not necessarily be studied: it would suffice for a community more or less often to read the text(s) that informs their identity or even to have this/these text(s) as (a) central symbolic focal point(s) for group identity. In scholarly communities, a (significant) number of the community members would be engaged in what others have called “serious reading” of (a) text(s). See Pieter B. Hartog, *Pesher and Hypomnema: A Comparison of Two Commentary Traditions from the Hellenistic-Roman World* (STDJ 121; Leiden: Brill, 2017), 41–43; on “serious reading” see Dirk Obbink, “Readers and Intellectuals,” in *Oxyrhynchus: A City and Its Texts* (ed. Alan K. Bowman et al.; GRM 93; London: Egypt Exploration Society, 2007), 271–86.

omissions. This fixed text of Homer served as a literary monument, which like stone monuments such as the Tomb of Alexander embodied the cultural and political ambitions of the Ptolemaic dynasty. In contrast, the pesharim approach their base texts as fluid and malleable entities. The Qumran commentaries exhibit no signs of an attempt to fix the text of the Jewish Scriptures, but freely use different text-forms side by side in their lemmata and interpretations. This perceived fluidity of the Jewish Scriptures reflects the experience of the peshar commentators to live in a quickly changing world. The malleability of their base texts allowed these ancient Jewish exegetes to make sense of their experiences in the light of Scripture—and vice versa.

Homer as a Literary Monument

The intellectual programme that Homer scholars in Hellenistic Alexandria initiated was based on a particular view of the poet. For the *grammatikoi* of the Alexandrian Museum and Library, Homer was a conscious author, who had a biography, a style, and his own literary preferences, and who had singlehandedly written the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. (2) This latter idea, that Homer had himself put his epics to writing, was a novelty in Alexandrian Homer scholarship and continued to be debated in the Roman period, as is indicated by Josephus' comment that "[Homer] ... did not leave his own poem in written form." (3) This notion of Homer as a writer had a profound impact on the Alexandrian approach to the text of the Homeric epics. It made textual fixity the desired standard, since to arrive at a fixed text of the *Iliad* or the *Odyssey* would be equal to reconstructing the very words that Homer wrote. Fluidity, by contrast, was a sign of corruption: for the Alexandrian scholars, the existence of different versions of the Homeric epics was a sign that the epics had been tampered with after Homer had first put them down in writing.

(2) Dirk M. Schenkeveld, "Aristarchus and ΟΜΗΡΟΣ ΦΙΛΟΤΕΧΝΟΣ: Some Fundamental Ideas of Aristarchus on Homer as a Poet," *Mnemosyne* 23 (1970): 162–78; Robert Lamberton, "Homer in Antiquity," in *A New Companion to Homer* (ed. Ian Morris and Barry Powell; MnS 163; Leiden: Brill, 1997), 33–54; Jed Wyrick, *The Ascension of Authorship: Attribution and Canon Formation in Jewish, Hellenistic, and Christian Traditions* (HSCL 49; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2004), 136–202.

Ancient scholars were divided on the extent of the Homeric corpus. Aristotle, for instance, included the *Margites* as a Homeric epic. The scholars in the Alexandrian Museum and Library worked with a rather restricted definition of the Homeric corpus, which included only the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*.

(3) *C.Ap.* 12 (trans. John M. G. Barclay, *Against Apion* [Flavius Josephus: Translation and Commentary 10; Leiden: Brill, 2007], 15–16).

In their approach to Homer, the scholars in the Alexandrian Museum and Library continued several pre-Hellenistic traditions. The name “Homer” steadily rose to prominence from the sixth century BCE onwards, when a group of rhapsodes called the *Homeridai* traced their roots back to a mythical ancestor known as “Homer.” (4) They presented their ancestor as a travelling rhapsode and collected traditions from all parts of the Greek world under his name. Homer thus came to embody a pan-Hellenic identity. (5) The *Homeridai* also instigated a biographical tradition, which continued well into the Roman era and presented Homer as a concrete personality rather than an ideal persona or a set of writings. (6) As a corollary, the classical period witnessed an increasing interest in the grammatical and stylistic preferences of “the poet,” whilst the attention for other early epic traditions receded. (7) In the fifth century BCE, some sophists engaged in grammatical analysis of Homer. (8) One century later, Aristotle discussed Homer’s grammatical and stylistic preferences in his *Poetics* and *Homeric Problems*. (9) As a result, the Homeric epics—with the *Iliad* taking pride of place—had acquired a central position in Greek education and served a key focal point for

(4) Walter Burkert, “The Making of Homer in the Sixth Century B.C.: Rhapsodes versus Stesichoros,” in *Papers on the Amasis Painter and His World: Colloquium Sponsored by the Getty Center for the History of Art and the Humanities and Symposium Sponsored by the J. Paul Getty Museum* (Malibu, CA: The J. Paul Getty Museum, 1987), 43–62; Martin L. West, “The Invention of Homer,” *CQ* 49 (1999): 364–82; Barbara Graziosi, *Inventing Homer: The Early Reception of Epic* (CCS; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).

(5) Rudolf Pfeiffer, *History of Classical Scholarship: From the Beginning to the End of the Hellenistic Age* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968), 5–6; Graziosi, *Inventing Homer*, 62–79.

(6) On this biographical tradition see Graziosi, *Inventing Homer*; Gregory Nagy, *Homer the Preclassic* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2010), 29–47; Mary R. Lefkowitz, *The Lives of the Greek Poets*, 2d ed. (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2012), 14–29; Alexander Beecroft, *Authorship and Cultural Identity in Early Greece and China: Patterns of Literary Circulation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 61–105; Adrian Kelly, “Biographies of Homer,” in *The Homer Encyclopedia* (ed. Margalit Finkelberg; Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2011), 129–30.

(7) See Georg Danek, “The Homeric Epics as Palimpsests,” in *In the Second Degree: Paratextual Literature in Ancient Near Eastern and Ancient Mediterranean Culture and Its Reflection in Medieval Literature* (ed. Philip Alexander, Armin Lange, and Renate Pillingner; Leiden: Brill, 2010), 123–36; Margalit Finkelberg, “Canonising and Decanonising Homer: Reception of the Homeric Poems in Antiquity and Modernity,” in *Homer and the Bible in the Eyes of Ancient Interpreters* (ed. Maren R. Niehoff; JSRC 16; Leiden: Brill, 2012), 15–28.

(8) Pfeiffer, *History of Classical Scholarship*, 33–34.

(9) Pfeiffer, *History of Classical Scholarship*, 69–74; James C. Hogan, “Aristotle’s Criticism of Homer in the *Poetics*,” *CP* 68 (1973): 95–108.

Greek identity and self-understanding already in the pre-Hellenistic period. (10) The work of Homer scholars in the Alexandrian Museum and Library built on these earlier developments.

What was absent from pre-Hellenistic dealings with Homer was a sustained effort to arrive at a fixed text of the Homeric epics. It has been argued that the “Peisistratan recension”—an alleged Athenian edition of Homer produced by Peisistratus in the sixth century BCE—constituted such an effort, but the reports of what Peisistratus did exactly with the Homeric epics (i.e., whether he collected them or produced a fixed text) are contradictory. Stemming from a much later period than the alleged recension, (11) these reports bear mythical traits and serve to bolster the link between Athens and the Homeric epics. For Barbara Graziosi this means that “[t]he story according to which Pisistratus ... collected the Homeric poems ... is ... a late fantasy influenced by Hellenistic editorial practices.” (12) But even if some historical core in the story is allowed to stand (as some scholars have argued (13)), Peisistratus’ dealings with the Homeric epics must be seen in the context of the performance of these epics at festivals and probably served the pragmatic purpose of providing a standard text for performance. (14) They do not constitute an attempt to arrive at one fixed text of Homer.

(10) On Homer as the centre of Greek education and self-understanding see Henri I. Marrou, *A History of Education in Antiquity* (trans. George Lamb; London: Sheed and Ward, 1956), 162–63; Teresa Morgan, *Literate Education in the Hellenistic and Roman Worlds* (CCS; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998; repr., 2000); eadem, “Education, Homer in,” in *The Homer Encyclopedia*, 234–38; Raffaella Cribiore, *Gymnastics of the Mind: Greek Education in Hellenistic and Roman Egypt* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2001), 194–97; Margalit Finkelberg, “Homer as a Foundation Text,” in *Homer, the Bible, and Beyond: Literary and Religious Canons in the Ancient World* (ed. eadem and Guy G. Stroumsa; JSRC 2; Leiden: Brill, 2003), 75–96; eadem, “Canonising and Decanonising,” 15–28.

(11) The first reference to Peisistratus’ engagement with Homer is in Cicero, *De or.* 3.137. Cicero writes that Peisistratus “was said to be the first to arrange Homer’s book, previously scattered about, as we now have them” (*qui primus Homeri libros confusos antea sic disposuisse dicitur, ut nunc habemus*). Note that Cicero’s comment does not imply a Peisistratan attempt at textual standardisation.

(12) Graziosi, *Inventing Homer*, 206–7.

(13) For a concise overview see Pfeiffer, *History of Classical Scholarship*, 6–9. Pfeiffer himself remains skeptical: “Not only in the later embroideries, but in the whole conception of a powerful statesman as a collector of literary texts, as the earliest founder of a Greek ‘library’, as head of a committee of scholars, we seem to have a projection of events of the Ptolemaic age into the sixth century” (6).

(14) On the link between canonisation, textual fixation, and particular performative contexts (especially festivals) see Hubert Cancik, “Standardization and Ranking of Texts in Greek and Roman Institutions,” in *Homer, the Bible, and Beyond*, 117–30.

That no such text existed in the pre-Hellenistic period is further confirmed by the so-called “wild” papyri. (15) These papyri demonstrate that the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* long remained fluid and open-ended works, presumably as a result of their ongoing performance and oral transmission. Different versions of the epics existed alongside one another, apparently without any serious conflict. This situation continued well into the Ptolemaic period, but the first tendencies towards textual fixity become apparent in the second century BCE. (16) It is no coincidence that this move towards textual fixity corresponds with the activities of Alexandrian Homer scholars, which reached its zenith with the work of Aristarchus of Samothrace (216–144 BCE). The scholars in the Museum and Library were the first to develop systematically a fixed text of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. And they seem to have been successful, as Homer papyri from the Roman period bear witness to a largely unified textual tradition of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. (17)

The Alexandrian scholars developed an intricate system of *sigla* to express their views on the text of the Homeric epics. Before Aristarchus, these *sigla* appeared in the margins of *Iliad* manuscripts and so constituted editions (*ekdoseis*) associated with the names of various scholars. From Aristarchus onwards, Alexandrian scholars explained their views in separate commentaries (*hypomnemata*). As I have discussed these developments elsewhere, (18) I will here limit myself to two examples of the textual views of Alexandrian scholars as they are expressed in these *hypomnemata*. In P.Oxy. 2.221v (second century CE), the Alexandrian scholar Seleucus is said to have *athetised* (declared spurious) *Il.* 21.190 because he considers the line redundant and because it is absent from the Cretan edition of the *Iliad*. (19) Hence, Seleucus

(15) Stephanie West, *The Ptolemaic Papyri of Homer* (PC 3; Wiesbaden: Springer, 1967); Graeme D. Bird, *Multitextuality in the Homeric Iliad: The Witness of the Ptolemaic Papyri* (HSt 43; Cambridge: Center for Hellenic Studies, 2010).

(16) West, *Ptolemaic Papyri*, 15.

(17) At the same time, the text of the epics found in Roman-period Homer papyri does not necessarily correspond with the textual decisions of the Alexandrian scholars. It appears therefore that these scholars achieved their aim to arrive at a largely fixed text for the Homeric epics, but this fixed text did not incorporate their views on which lines did and which did not belong to the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* Homer had written. The reasons for this situation are not entirely clear; but one of them must be the ambiguous approach of Alexandrian scholars to textual fixity (see below).

On the development of the Homeric text see Michael Haslam, “Homeric Papyri and Transmission of the Text,” in *A New Companion to Homer*, 55–100.

(18) Hartog, *Pesher and Hypomnema*, 71–77.

(19) P.Oxy. 2.221v 15:24–27: “However, in the fifth book of the *Editions*, the same (Seleucus) *athetises* (the verse), together with the following two, as redundant. They are also absent from the Cretan edition” (Ἐν [δ]᾽ ἑτῶν Διορθωτικῶν ὁ

concludes, the line cannot have been part of Homer's *ipsissima verba*. Similarly, Aristarchus, in P.Oxy. 8.1086 (first century BCE), is said to have athetised *Il.* 2.791–795, which tell how the goddess Iris, Zeus' messenger, likens her voice to that of the Trojan watch Polites when she urges the Trojans to wage war with the Greeks. The commentary gives three reasons: “first, Iris never likens herself to anyone when she is sent by Zeus, but always appears as herself” (20); “[s]econd, (Iris's) delivery is unconvincing” (21); third, “Homer, whenever he likens someone to someone, also clearly provides the fitting words.” (22) On these literary and stylistic grounds, the commentator dismisses *Il.* 2.791–795 as spurious.

These two examples illustrate a basic ambiguity in the Alexandrian approach to textual fixity. Though determined to recover the *Iliad* as Homer had written it, the Alexandrian scholars after Aristarchus only rarely—if at all (23)—added or deleted lines in their editions. Instead, they expressed their views on the originality of certain lines in the margins of a manuscript or in a separate commentary, but allowed the line in question to remain part of the Homeric text. The fixed text of Homer as reconstructed by these scholars did not, therefore, come to us in the form of Homer manuscripts purified from all post-Homer corruptions, but in the form of annotated Homer manuscripts that allowed spurious lines to stand in the text. As a result, the standard text of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* as it occurs in Homer manuscripts from the Roman period onwards reflects the aims of the Alexandrian scholars to fix the Homeric text, but not necessarily their decisions on what the original *Iliad* or *Odyssey* should look like.

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* *

αὐτὸς [ἀ]θετεῖ σὺν τοῖς ἐξῆς β ὡς περισσο[ύ]ς. Οὐκ εἶναι δὲ οὐδ' ἐν τῇ Κρητικῇ). All translations are my own, unless otherwise indicated.

(20) P.Oxy. 8.1086 2:23–25 (63–65): Πρῶτον μὲν οὐδέποτε ὑπὸ Διὸς πεμπομένη ἡ Ἴρις ὁμοιοῦται τινι, ἀλλ' αἰεὶ αὐτοπρόσωπος παραγίνεται.

(21) P.Oxy. 8.1086 2:25 (65): Ἐτι δὲ καὶ ἡ ὑπόκρισις ἀπίθανος.

(22) P.Oxy. 8.1086 2:28 (68): Ὅμηρος, ὅταν τινὰ εἰκάζη τινί, καὶ τοὺς πρέποντας λόγους περιτίθησιν, δῆλον.

(23) There has been some debate on the question whether the Alexandrian scholars ever deleted lines from the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, and if so, whether they would do so without consulting manuscripts of the *Iliad*. See Franco Montanari, “Zenodotus, Aristarchus and the *Ekdosis* of Homer,” in *Editing Texts/Texte edieren* (ed. Glenn W. Most; Aporemata 2; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1998), 1–21; Richard Janko, *Books 13–16*, vol. 4 of *The Iliad: A Commentary* (ed. Geoffrey S. Kirk; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 20–38.

I have argued above that the promotion of textual fixity as an ideal was a novelty in the Hellenistic period, which should be attributed to the scholars in the Alexandrian Museum and Library. To explain the approach of these Alexandrian scholars to the Homeric epics many modern scholars have highlighted the continuity of their work with pre-Hellenistic (especially Aristotelian/Peripatetic) attitudes towards the poet. (24) Though not wishing to deny these continuities, I suggest that the approach of the Alexandrian *grammatikoi* towards the textual state of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* is not merely a development of pre-Hellenistic practices, but reflects the political ambitions of the Alexandrian *grammatikoi* and their sponsors.

The Alexandrian Museum and Library were thoroughly political institutions. The precise reasons for their establishment are unclear, (25) but there is no doubt that these institutions were strongly supported and lavishly sponsored by the Ptolemaic dynasty that ruled Egypt after Alexander's death. (26) They may have been places of scholarship where scholars led a care-free life devoted to study and occasional teaching, but the work done in the Museum and Library was meant at the same time to bolster the power and ambitions of the Ptolemies. As Andrew Erskine has shown, the protection and promotion of the Greek cultural heritage in these two institutions supported the claims of the Ptolemaic *diadochoi* to be the true successors of Alexander's kingdom and the culture he had spread. (27) This political bent of Alexandrian scholarship is echoed in the stories, circulating widely in the Hellenistic and Roman periods, about how the Ptolemies sought to acquire all the books in the world for their Library. (28) The Aristotelian flavour of Alexandrian Homer scholarship also supports a further connection with Alexander, who was tutored by Aristotle. (29) In view of this political context, it hardly comes as a

(24) E.g., Francesca Schironi, "Theory into Practice: Aristotelian Principles in Aristarchean Philology," *CP* 104 (2009): 279–316.

(25) For a discussion cf. Frank W. Walbank, *The Hellenistic World* (2nd ed.; London: Fontana Press, 1986), 176–78.

(26) See Andrew Erskine, "Culture and Power in Ptolemaic Egypt: The Museum and Library of Alexandria," *Greece & Rome* 42 (1995): 38–48; cf. Roger S. Bagnall, "Alexandria: Library of Dreams," *PAPS* 146 (2002): 348–62.

(27) Erskine, "Culture and Power in Ptolemaic Egypt," 38–48.

(28) One of the most famous of such stories is the Letter of Aristeas, which tells how a king Ptolemy decided to have the Judaean law translated into Greek in order to include it in the Library. The story is largely fictional and must be understood as a presentation of the Judaean Scriptures as equal to, or even surpassing, the Homeric epics. See Sylvie Honigman, *The Septuagint and Homeric Scholarship in Alexandria: A Study in the Narrative of the Letter of Aristeas* (London: Routledge, 2003); Benjamin G. E. Wright, *The Letter of Aristeas: 'Aristeas to Philocrates' or 'On the Translation of the Law of the Jews'* (CEJL; Berlin: de Gruyter, 2015).

(29) Erskine, "Culture and Power in Ptolemaic Egypt," 39–42.

surprise that Alexandrian scholars concentrated their intellectual efforts on Homer, who had become the focal point of Greek education and identity in the pre-Hellenistic period and now served to embody the legitimacy of the Ptolemies as Greek rulers and heirs to Alexander.

This intellectual programme was not the only way in which the Ptolemies sought to bolster their authority. They also erected stone monuments in Alexandria, which symbolised their connection with Alexander and their indebtedness to classical Greek culture. One of these monuments was the Museum itself. As Strabo informs us, the Museum belonged to the elaborate Ptolemaic palace complex in Alexandria (17.1.8), (30) and this intimate material link between the royal living quarters and the Museum as an institution of Greek learning and education provided a durable symbol of the Greekness of the Ptolemaic kings. Another case in point is the Tomb of Alexander (the Sema), which—again according to Strabo—was part of the same complex (17.1.8). The Sema served not only as Alexander's burial place, but also as that of the Ptolemaic kings. This material link between the Sema and the Ptolemaic court stresses the close connection between the Ptolemaic kings and their illustrious predecessor and so attests to the legitimacy of the Ptolemaic dynasty.

Against the background of this monumental building programme in the early Ptolemaic period, the presentation by Alexandrian scholars of the Homeric epics as fixed texts can be thought to serve as a literary counterpart to the stone monuments erected by the Ptolemaic kings. Just as the Museum and the Sema offered concrete and durable expressions of Ptolemaic power and prestige, so the Homeric epics written down by Homer himself provided a durable literary monument for the Greek identity of the Ptolemies and their active promotion of Greek culture. (31) As they turned Homer in a monumental literary text, the Alexandrian scholars in the Museum and Library sought to create a textual community around this literary monument—a community devoted to their Ptolemaic rulers and acknowledging their authority as heirs of Alexander, guardians of classical Greek culture, and embodiments of Greek identity.

(30) Strabo does not mention the Library, which raises the question whether Strabo thought the Library was part of the Museum or located it elsewhere.

(31) On the general connection between literary, textual, and material developments cf. also Manfred Oeming's recent argument that tendencies towards canonisation and textual fixity of the Hebrew Scriptures started early on and were linked with the establishment of fixed measures of weight and length. The details of Oeming's argument are not without their problems, but the correlation he draws between material/archaeological and literary/textual developments is illustrative also for later periods. See Manfred Oeming, "The Way of God: Early Canonicity and the 'Nondeviation Formula,'" in *When Texts are Canonized* (ed. Timothy H. Lim and Kengo Akiyama; BJS 359; Providence, RI: Brown University, 2017), 25–43.

This Alexandrian presentation of the Homeric epics as fixed text, composed and written by the poet in a long-gone age, did not find its expression in “purified” *ekdoseis* of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, but in a fluid tradition of textual scholarship. Scholarly works, such as commentaries, dictionaries, or treatises, are highly unstable writings, which tend continuously to accumulate, lose, or change material. (32) This fluidity contrasts with the stability of the Homeric text promoted by the Alexandrian scholars. (33) It echoes the ambiguous attitude of the Hellenistic intellectuals to the text of Homer: even when they considered certain lines spurious, they allowed these lines to remain part of the Homeric text. (34) As a result, there was no end to discussions over textual problems, and the text of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* had to be constantly fixed anew. This shows that the Alexandrian presentation of Homer as a literary monument, fixed for times to come, was an ideal that was never fully reached in practice. The shape of the Homeric text in the Roman and later periods show that the Alexandrian *ideal* of a fixed Homeric text was highly influential in the long run, even if the opinions of Alexandrian scholars on the *shape* of this fixed text did not always win general appeal.

The Adaptability of the Jewish Scriptures

The textual standardisation of the Jewish Scriptures—including the later-to-become Hebrew Bible—was a complex process, of which many details remain unclear. Before 70 CE, no standard text of the Jewish Scriptures appears to have existed and many Jewish intellectuals were not particularly interested in fixating the text of their Scriptures. But this is only a general picture, and regional and other differences

(32) See Michael W. Haslam, “The Homer ‘Lexicon of Apollonius Sophista’: I: Composition and Constituents,” *CP* 89 (1994): 1–45; Christina Shuttleworth Kraus, “Introduction: Reading Commentaries/Commentaries as Reading,” in *The Classical Commentary: Histories, Practices, Theory* (ed. Roy K. Gibson and eadem; MnS 232; Leiden: Brill, 2002), 1–27; Hartog, *Pesher and Hypomnema*, 59–62. See also George Brooke’s contribution in this volume.

(33) Cf. how Ineke Sluiter contrasts “the stable written nature of the source-text” with “the improvised, oral aspects, and fluid nature, of the commentary” (“The Dialectics of Genre: Some Aspects of Secondary Literature and Genre in Antiquity,” in *Matrices of Genre: Authors, Canons, and Society* [ed. Mary Depew and Dirk Obbink; CHSC 4; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2000], 183–203 [184]). On Sluiter’s suggestion see Pieter B. Hartog, “Pesher as Commentary,” in *Proceedings of the Eighth Meeting of the International Organization of Qumran Studies: Munich, 4–7 August, 2013* (ed. Pieter B. Hartog, Samuel I. Thomas, Alison Schofield; STDJ 125; Leiden: Brill, 2018), 92–116.

(34) See above.

abound. (35) The Letter of Aristeas (second century BCE), for one, presents the textual fixity of the Septuagint as an ideal not unlike that promoted by Alexandrian Homer scholars (*Let.Aris.* 308–311). (36) And scribal corrections in first century BCE manuscripts such as 8HevXII gr or 4QLXXNum may suggest that the scribes or later readers of these manuscripts saw some need to correct the scriptural text in these manuscripts in line with a different textual tradition. (37) Yet none of these examples points to existence of a standardised and generally accepted text of the Jewish Scriptures before 70 CE. (38)

The pesharim confirm this picture. These running commentaries on prophetic-poetic parts of the Jewish Scriptures often quote the proto-Masoretic version of their base texts. (39) The pesher exegetes are not bound to this version, though: both in their lemmata and in

(35) For a concise popular treatment of the textual history of the Jewish Scriptures (in Dutch) see Barry Hartog, “De ontwikkeling van de Masoretische Tekst,” *Met andere woorden* 16:3–4 (2016): 25–35, available online at <https://www.bijbelgenootschap.nl/ontwikkeling-masoretische-tekst/> (last accessed 9 October, 2018).

(36) The connection between Aristeas’s portrayal of the Septuagint and Alexandrian Homer scholarship has been noted by several scholars, though they have not reached agreement on ps.-Aristeas’s stance on the value of Homer scholarship. See Honigman, *The Septuagint and Homeric Scholarship*; Maren R. Niehoff, *Jewish Exegesis and Homeric Scholarship in Alexandria* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 19–37; Arie van der Kooij, “The Septuagint of the Pentateuch,” in *Law, Prophets, and Wisdom: On the Provenance of Translators and Their Books in the Septuagint Version* (ed. Johann Cook and idem; CBET 68; Leuven: Peeters, 2012), 15–62 (18–38).

A full discussion of the issue would surpass the boundaries of this contribution. As I see it, Aristeas confirms the ideal of textual fixity that characterised the Alexandrian approach to the Homeric text and seeks to present the Greek Scriptures as a literary monument for the Jewish community in Egypt on a par with (or perhaps surpassing) Homer, the literary monument of non-Jewish Greeks.

(37) See Armin Lange, “‘Nobody Dared to Add to Them, To Take From Them, Or to Make Changes’ (Josephus, Ag. Ap. 1.42): The Textual Standardization of Jewish Scriptures in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls,” in *Flores Florentino: Dead Sea Scrolls and Other Early Jewish Studies in Honour of Florentino García Martínez* (ed. Anthony Hilhorst, Émile Puech, and Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar; JSJSup 122; Leiden: Brill, 2007), 105–26 (110–18); idem, “‘They Confirmed the Reading’ (y. Ta’an. 4.68a): The Textual Standardization of Jewish Scriptures in the Second Temple Period,” in *From Qumran to Aleppo: A Discussion with Emanuel Tov about the Textual History of Jewish Scriptures in Honor of his 65th Birthday* (ed. idem, Matthias Weigold, and József Zsengellér; FRLANT 230; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2009), 29–80 (56–63).

(38) In the case of 8HevXII gr, the find context of this manuscript suggests a different socio-historical context from that of 4QLXXNum or other Qumran scrolls. See Pieter B. Hartog, “Reading and Copying the Minor Prophets in the Late Second Temple Period,” in *The Books of the Twelve Prophets: Minor Prophets—Major Theologies* (ed. Heinz-Josef Fabry; BETL 295; Leuven: Peeters, 2018), 411–23.

(39) For the statistics see Timothy H. Lim, *Holy Scripture in the Qumran Commentaries and Pauline Letters* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997), 72–94. On scriptural quotations in 1QpHab see also William H. Brownlee, *The Text of Habakkuk in the*

their interpretations, the Qumran commentators felt free to quote and refer to other textual versions of their base texts. Thus, in contrast with their peers in Alexandria, the pesher commentators do not present their base texts as fixed entities, hand-written by conscious authors, but they endorse the fluidity of their base texts and play with the ambiguities in and interpretative possibilities of the scriptural text. In 1QpHab 4:9–13 and 11:8–15, for instance, the pesher exegete quotes his base texts (Hab 1:11 and 2:16) in a version different from MT, but employs both the non-MT and the non-quoted MT reading in his interpretations. So, in the first passage, the interpretation of Hab 1:11 implies both the reading **ישם** (quoted in the lemma) and the reading **ואשם** (MT). (40) And in 1QpHab 11:8–15, the pesher exegete takes up both the reading **הרעל** (lemma) and **הערל** (MT) in how he exegetes Hab 2:16. These cases show that for the pesher commentators, the scriptural text was not a fixed, but a fluid entity, which could be altered in the course of its interpretation.

These and other examples from the Qumran commentaries raise the question how the composers of these scholarly writings knew about the various textual forms of their Scriptures. According to Timothy Lim, pesher exegetes “may well have had different texts of Habakkuk in front of him, rather than simply remembering variant readings.” (41) These were often Hebrew manuscripts, but not exclusively: drawing attention to the reading **חרבו** (“his sword”) for MT’s **חרמו** (“his net”), Lim points to the reading **μαχαίραν αὐτοῦ** in 8HēvXII gr—the only other occurrence of the word for “sword” in the available ancient manuscript evidence. Thus, Lim concludes that, “[g]iven the multilingual context of first-century Palestine, it remains possible that the Habakkuk pesherist not only was able to read Greek, but did so on this occasion from a manuscript that was known to have circulated in his neighborhood.” (42) I have elsewhere expressed my doubts on this scenario. (43) Though Lim’s suggestions cannot be disproved conclusively, I would argue that the pesher commentators may have arrived at these variant readings independently—that is, without laying eyes on a scriptural manuscript. Hermeneutically, there is no distinction between the link

Ancient Commentary from Qumran (SBLMS 11; Philadelphia, PA: Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis, 1959).

(40) On the hermeneutics of this passage see William H. Brownlee, *The Midrash Pesher of Habakkuk* (SBLMS 24; Missoula, MT: Scholars Press, 1979), 80–83.

(41) Lim, *Holy Scripture*, 50.

(42) Lim, “The Qumran Scrolls, Multilingualism, and Biblical Interpretation,” in *Religion in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. John J. Collins and Robert A. Kugler; DSSSE; Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2000), 57–73 (71).

(43) Hartog, *Pesher and Hypomnema*, 155–58.

the pesher commentator draws between *וַיִּשָּׁם* and *וַאֲשֶׁם*; *הַרְעַל* and *הַעֲרַל*; *חֶרֶם* and *חֶרֶב*; and, e.g., *עֵמֶל* (lemma) and *מַעַל* (interpretation) in 1QpHab 1:5–6. The only difference is that in the first three instances, the reading of the pesher commentator finds a parallel in the available textual record, whereas in the final instance it does not. However, given the straightforward nature of these variants and the absence of explicit indications in the pesharim that their composers engaged in manuscript comparison, the cases to which Lim refers may more suitably be taken as interpretations of single words, without implying that the pesher exegete must have consulted a scriptural manuscript to include these readings in his interpretations. (44)

Rather than assuming that the pesher commentators occupied themselves with systematic manuscript comparison, I would suggest that for the Qumran exegetes the transmission and the interpretation of the Jewish Scriptures were two sides of the same coin. The pesharim attest to a hermeneutical circle, in which the form of the scriptural text determines its interpretation, and the other way around. Thus, the composers of these Qumran commentaries tend to quote Scripture in the form best-known to them, but felt free to alter or reconfigure the text of their base texts in the course of their interpretations. They may or may not have checked other manuscripts, but they probably did not do so in a systematic way—and there is no way of knowing whether they did it at all. An indication for this somewhat ad hoc fashion of quotation in the pesharim is 1QpHab 12:1–7. The first quotation of Hab 2:17ba in these lines reads *מַדְמֵי אָדָם וְחֶמֶס אֶרֶץ* and corresponds with MT, the second one reads *מַדְמֵי קִרְיָה וְחֶמֶס אֶרֶץ*. This second quotation points forward to the following interpretation, which starts by saying: “Its interpretation: the city—that is Jerusalem.” This indicates that for the pesher commentators, their scriptural base texts were fluid and malleable texts, and that text and interpretation in the Qumran commentaries belong intrinsically together.

This fluidity of the scriptural texts is mirrored in the textual state of the pesharim themselves. In recent years, a number of scholars have challenged Frank M. Cross’s older view that all the pesharim are autographs. (45) Instead, the pesharim are increasingly taken as fluid works of textual scholarship not unlike the hypomnemata, which are at home within a study community that made active use of them. Traces of literary

(44) So also Lou H. Silberman, “Unriddling the Riddle: A Study in the Structure and Language of the Habakkuk Pesher (1QpHab),” *RevQ* 3/3 (1962): 323–64 (361); Ilana Goldberg, “Variant Readings in Pesher Habakkuk,” *Textus* 17 (1994): 6–24.

(45) See also George Brooke’s contribution in this volume.

development have been recognised in 1QpHab, (46) 4Q163, (47) 4Q169, (48) and 4Q171. (49) Thus, the pesher commentators exhibited the same attitude towards their scriptural base texts and the exegetical tradition in which they partook. In terms of their textual state, therefore, the pesharim—unlike the hypomnemata—present themselves as continuous with the base texts they interpret. This is another sign that for the pesher commentators, the transmission and the interpretation of Scripture are continuous with one another.

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* *

The way in which the pesher commentators present and approach the textual state of their base texts differs markedly from that of Alexandrian Homer scholars. The latter turned Homer into a literary monument—a fixed symbol of the cultural identity and legitimacy of the Ptolemaic dynasty. The pesher exegetes, in contrast, approach their base texts as fluid entities. Whereas for his Alexandrian interpreters, Homer becomes a durable focal point of Greek identity and Ptolemaic power, the pesharim emphasise the resilience and malleability of their base texts, which can always be adapted to the new circumstances in which their readers find themselves.

These differences in how they present the textual state of their base texts echo the socio-historical background of the pesher and hypomnema exegetes. Alexandrian textual scholarship was intricately tied up with the Ptolemaic court, whose claims to power and prestige it supported. The

(46) Florentino García Martínez, “El pesher: Interpretación profética de la Escritura,” *Salmanticensis* 26 (1979): 125–39 (137; see also n. 45); H. Gregory Snyder, “Naughts and Crosses: Pesher Manuscripts and their Significance for Reading Practices at Qumran,” *DSD* 7 (2000): 26–48 (39–40); Jutta Jokiranta, *Social Identity and Sectarianism in the Qumran Movement* (STDJ 105; Leiden: Brill, 2013), 154; George J. Brooke, “Physicality, Paratextuality, and Pesher Habakkuk,” in *On the Fringe of Commentary: Metatextuality in Ancient Near Eastern and Ancient Mediterranean Cultures* (ed. Sydney H. Aufrère, Philip S. Alexander, and Zlatko Pleše; OLA 232; Leuven: Peeters, 2014), 175–93 (186); Pieter B. Hartog, “‘The Final Priests of Jerusalem’ and ‘The Mouth of the Priest’: Eschatology and Literary History in Pesher Habakkuk,” *DSD* 24 (2017): 59–80.

(47) Pieter B. Hartog, “Interlinear Additions and Literary Development in 4Q163/*Pesher Isaiah C*, 4Q169/*Pesher Nahum*, and 4Q171/*Pesher Psalms A*,” *RevQ* 28/2 (2016): 267–77 (269–72).

(48) Shani L. Berrin (Tzoref), *The Pesher Nahum Scroll from Qumran: An Exegetical Study of 4Q169* (STDJ 53; Leiden: Brill, 2004), 214–15; Hartog, “Interlinear Additions,” 272–74.

(49) Hartog, “Interlinear Additions,” 274–76.

tradition of textual scholarship reflected in the Qumran commentaries did not—as far as we know—exhibit such intimate ties to a particular centre of power. To be sure, the pesharim, too, bolstered the claims of the movement in which they originated. But the members of this movement did not erect monuments as lasting expressions of their power. In their interpretations, the peshar exegetes did not look for monumental literature that supported their interests, but for resilient Scriptures that could be read in ever-new ways to make sense of the quickly changing world in which the peshar commentators found themselves to be living and, as a result, were able to provide consolation to the composers and the readers of these commentaries. (50)

This view of their base texts as flexible enabled the peshar commentators to make sense of the experiences of their movement in the light of Scripture, and vice versa. As George Brooke, Philip Davies, and others have shown, the peshar exegetes did not just apply the Jewish Scripture to the historical situation of their movement. Instead, they create a historical consciousness or historical memory, in which the experiences of the Qumran movement and their literary heritage are merged. (51) References to historical circumstances in the pesharim are often not very specific, as they are clad in scriptural language (52); and the scriptural base text or other traditions from the scrolls often governed the shape of the historical memory of the composers of the

(50) On the consolatory (or even pastoral) purpose of the pesharim see Karl Elliger, *Studien zum Habakuk-Kommentar vom Toten Meer* (BHT 15; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1953), 153–54. Elliger writes that “[d]er eigentliche Zweck der Auslegung [in den Pescharim, PBH] *praktisch-seelsorgerlicher Art* [ist]” (153; his italics). Elliger’s suggestion merits further discussion, seeing that it has not, as far as I know, been taken up in studies on the pesharim.

(51) See the survey in Pieter B. Hartog, “Pesharim,” in *The Dictionary of the Bible in Ancient Media* (ed. Tom Thatcher et al.; London: T&T Clark, 2017), 293–95. Cf. on the Teacher of Righteousness Loren T. Stuckenbruck, “The Teacher of Righteousness Remembered: From Fragmentary Sources to Collective Memory in the Dead Sea Scrolls,” in *Memory in the Bible and Antiquity: The Fifth Durham-Tübingen Research Symposium (Durham, September 2004)* (ed. Stephen C. Barton, idem, and Benjamin G. Wold; WUNT 212; Tübingen: Mohr, 2007), 75–94; idem, “The Legacy of the Teacher of Righteousness in the Dead Sea Scrolls,” in *New Perspectives on Old Texts: Proceedings of the Tenth International Symposium of the Orion Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associated Literature, 9–11 January, 2005* (ed. Esther G. Chazon, Betsy Halpern-Amaru, and Ruth A. Clements; STDJ 88; Leiden: Brill, 2010), 23–49.

(52) George J. Brooke, “The Kittim in the Qumran Pesharim,” in *Images of Empire* (ed. Loveday Alexander; JSOTSup 122; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1991), 135–59; idem, “The Pesharim and the Origins of the Dead Sea Scrolls,” in *Methods of Investigation of the Dead Sea Scrolls and the Khirbet Qumran Site: Present Realities and Future Prospects* (ed. Michael O. Wise et al.; ANYAS 722; New York: The New York Academy of Sciences, 1994), 339–53.

pesharim. (53) In the pesharim, therefore, we do not encounter Scripture as a monument—a fixed, timeless point of reference—but as an ever-changing, flexible text which merges with the historical experiences of the Qumran movement. The result is a historical memory that supports the claims of the movement and gives consolation to its members when their claims are challenged.

It is helpful in this regard to consider the difference between what I have elsewhere referred to as “normativity” in the hypomnemata and “application” in the pesharim. (54) The ideal of a fixed Homeric text, written by the poet himself, implies a distinction between the times of the Alexandrian scholars—where Homer’s text was corrupted after centuries of transmission and performance—and that of Homer. As they sought to reinstall the *ipsissima verba* of Homer, therefore, the Alexandrian scholars turned the poet into a timeless source of wisdom. They suspend his past-ness and make the fixed Homeric text the centre of their scholar enterprise and of Greek identity and culture. They overcome the gap that separates them from Homer, not by denying this gap, but by claiming they have the knowledge to reconstruct the pristine *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. The contrast between the fixity of the Homeric base text and the fluidity of the Alexandrian scholarly tradition embodies this gap and the attempts of the Alexandrian scholars to bridge it: Homer has become a monumental writing, but due to the gap that separates Homer’s Hellenistic readers and the poet’s *ipsissima verba* the Homeric writings have to be constantly re-instated and re-confirmed as a literary monument. The hypomnemata and other scholarly works, which place Homer in the centre of Greek education and cultural consciousness, fulfil this purpose.

The pesharim work differently. The Qumran commentaries seem to imply no gap between their own times and that of their base texts. Instead, they present their interpretations as continuous with the contents of their base texts. Allegedly going back to the Teacher of Righteousness—the implied commentator in the pesharim—these interpretations result from the divine inspiration the Teacher received from God (1QpHab 7). Contrary to a persistent assumption in Qumran research,

(53) Philip R. Davies, *Behind the Essenes: History and Ideology in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (BJS 94; Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, 1987); idem, “What History Can We Get from the Scrolls, and How?” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Texts and Context* (ed. Charlotte Hempel; STDJ 90; Leiden: Brill, 2010), 31–46. Cf. on references to the righteous (צדיק) in the base texts of the pesharim and the Teacher of Righteousness in their interpretations Pieter B. Hartog, “Re-Reading Habakkuk 2:4b: Lemma and Interpretation in 1QpHab VII 17–VIII 3,” *RevQ* 26/1 (2013): 127–32.

(54) Hartog, *Pesher and Hypomnema*, 251–53.

however, the pesharim do not present the inspiration of the Teacher as a break with the inspiration of the earlier prophets (e.g., Habakkuk). Rather, the Teacher, living in a later period time than the ancient prophet, obtained a fuller insight in the course of history. But the divine inspiration in which he partakes is essentially of the same kind as that of the ancient prophet, even if it is a fuller form of it. (55) The textual state of the Qumran commentaries exemplifies their continuity with their base texts: the fluidity of the pesharim mirrors the fluid character of the Jewish Scriptures as the pesher commentators saw them.

Conclusion

The preceding analysis has demonstrated that Alexandrian scholars of Homer and Qumran exegetes of the Jewish Scriptures present and approach their base texts in different ways. For Alexandrian Homer scholars, the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* are fixed texts written by Homer himself, which can be recovered by the methods and tools developed by scholars in the Museum and Library. For the pesher exegetes, the Jewish Scriptures are fluid and malleable texts. In both cases, the presentation of these texts as either fixed or fluid is not a neutral decision: in the case of Alexandrian Homer scholars, Homer's fixity and monumentality reflects the power claims of the Ptolemies, whereas for the pesher exegetes the malleability of the Jewish Scriptures allowed the movement to which the pesher commentators belonged to make sense of their history through Scripture—and the other way around.

This also shows that the concepts of textual fixity and fluidity functioned differently in the Hellenistic and Roman periods than they do today. In many modern-day textual communities or faith groups, textual fluidity is a thing to be avoided. Textual fixity, in contrast,

(55) See Devorah Dimant, "Exegesis and Time in the Pesharim from Qumran," in *History, Ideology and Bible Interpretation in the Dead Sea Scrolls: Collected Studies* (FAT 90; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2014), 315–32; Jokiranta, *Social Identity and Sectarianism*, 166–70; Hartog, "Pesher as Commentary"; idem, *Pesher and Hypomnema*, 238–46; George J. Brooke, "Was the Teacher of Righteousness Considered to be a Prophet?" in *Prophecy after the Prophets? The Contribution of the Dead Sea Scrolls to the Understanding of Biblical and Extra-Biblical Prophecy* (ed. Kristin de Troyer, Armin Lange, and Lucas L. Schulte; CBET 52; Leuven: Peeters, 2009), 77–97; idem, "Prophetic Interpretation in the Pesharim," in *A Companion to Biblical Interpretation in Early Judaism* (ed. Matthias Henze; Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2012), 235–54; "Les mystères des prophètes et les oracles d'exégèse: Continuité et discontinuité dans la prophétie à Qumran," in *Comment devient-on prophète? Actes du colloque organisé par le Collège de France, Paris, les 4–5 avril 2011* (ed. Jean-Marie Durand, Thomas Römer, and Micaël Bürki; OBO 265; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2014), 159–66.

provides a solid basis for reading and reflection. In the period under discussion here, the lines were drawn differently. As it appears, textual fixity and fluidity were equally valid concepts, and it depended on the aims of particular textual communities how they construed the texts that were central to them.

Pieter B. HARTOG
Protestant Theological University (Groningen)

THE MANY FORMS OF JUBILEES

A Reassessment of the Manuscript Evidence from Qumran and the Lines of Transmission of the Parts and Whole of Jubilees

Summary

The diverse collection of material related to Jubilees found at Qumran suggests that the work did not have a single textual or literary form in the late Second Temple period. Fragments of manuscripts of a variety of sizes and styles are preserved at Qumran, and from this cluster of Jubilees related manuscripts there are several parallels that can be seen to the later lines of transmission. One line of transmission is a coherent book that narrates the events from creation to the Exodus, mostly known through the Ethiopic Jubilees manuscripts. Other lines of transmission, however, do not include the whole book, but only select passages. This paper is an initial attempt to formulate a theory of these different lines of the transmission into the various contexts in which they are found today, and further explain the abundance of smaller manuscripts continuing text from Jubilees found at Qumran.

THE history of the transmission of Jubilees and Jubilees-related material offers a prime example of the textual and literary plurality of Second Temple Jewish texts. The fragments of manuscripts containing text from Jubilees provide a unique opportunity to view the state of the text—and the work—in an early context, and the influence of Jubilees on a wide range of texts from Antiquity and the Middle Ages shows how the reception of ancient texts can happen in linear and non-linear ways.

In this essay, I will focus on the different streams of transmission which have brought Jubilees material from a Second Temple Jewish context and into Late Antique and Medieval Jewish and Christian contexts. Here, I am primarily interested in the intersection of form and

content in the transmission of material from Jubilees. A candid assessment of the Qumran manuscripts containing text from Jubilees suggests that there were few complete copies of Jubilees abandoned in the Qumran caves. I propose here an initial hypothesis as to how we can explain the different sizes and formats of the Qumran Jubilees manuscripts, keeping in mind the longer lines of the transmission of Jubilees into Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages. (1) I will begin by reviewing some recent theories on the different forms in which Jubilees was transmitted during this period, and argue that these forms represent different streams of transmission that transmitted the text of Jubilees independently from one another. Following this, I will discuss the Qumran manuscripts containing text from Jubilees with a special focus on material and stylistic features of the manuscripts, as well as their contents. Based on this analysis, I develop here the hypothesis that different forms of the transmission of Jubilees material are witnessed in the Qumran manuscripts, and discuss the possibility that these forms could correlate with later manuscript and textual evidence for Jubilees. Through this initial analysis I suggest the possibility that the Qumran material may represent the early stages of the streams of transmission that continue into later periods.

Before proceeding to the analysis, a few notes on methodology are pertinent. The starting point for this essay is the fragmented material remains of scrolls containing text from Jubilees found at Qumran. Many of the manuscripts are so fragmentary that they leave us little evidence as to the original contents of the scroll. However, discussions of the scrolls have often given the impression that the entire text of a given composition was originally found in each scroll that has surviving fragments. My first aim here is to challenge that assumption by assessing material and scribal features of the fragments that may give an idea of whether or not a given manuscript may have contained the entire text of Jubilees, as it is known to us in Ethiopic. (2) Due to the fact that many of the Qumran manuscripts containing text from Jubilees seem to be something other than complete copies, and given that we know far too little about the motivation ancient scribes had for copying the texts they did in the way that they did, I will attempt here to situate the Qumran Jubilees material in the known streams of transmission of

(1) There seems to be a correlation between textual plurality and the literary form. In other words, texts found in collections of passages or in Byzantine chronicles are often of a different textual character than texts in manuscripts containing complete copies of books. Because of the large number of manuscripts and texts discussed in this essay, I will not go into the details at the textual level, but will draw long lines of the pluriform transmission of Jubilees.

(2) The methods used for this are elaborated on below.

Jubilees. (3) As text from Jubilees is found in a variety of sources—and types of sources—in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages, I will begin with an overview of these sources before moving into the analysis of the Qumran material.

The transmission of Jubilees in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages

Sources for our knowledge of Jubilees from Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages can be sorted into three categories: copies of the work, narratives and narrative details presumably from Jubilees found in other works, and lists of material presumably derived from Jubilees. (4) Modern knowledge of the extent of the Book of Jubilees is based on the manuscript evidence of *Maṣḥafa Kufālē*, also known as Ethiopic Jubilees (EJ), so the category of copies of Jubilees is based on comparison with EJ. Until the discovery of the Qumran manuscripts, there was only one manuscript outside the Ethiopic tradition that was considered a copy of the same work as is found in EJ, namely the so-called Jubilees palimpsest, *Biblioteca Ambrosiana C 73 inf.* (5) Narratives and narrative details from Jubilees are, however, prevalent in Greek, Syriac, Hebrew, and other texts from Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages, mostly in chronicles, but also in theological, Midrashic, and heresiological writings. (6) Still other material is found in lists that may or may

(3) This method would be more robust if we had access to undamaged scrolls from Antiquity. Due to the state of the material, I propose here to correlate texts in the sources over this large period of time looking for patterns of correspondence.

(4) Here, I use the term *presumably* to make clear that we don't necessarily know the ultimate sources and intermediaries in the process of transmission of these passages. In the following, I will simply refer to material from Jubilees, but with the same reservation.

(5) First published in Antonius Maria Ceriani, *Monumenta Sacra et Profana* (vol. 1; Milan: Bibliothecae Ambrosianae, 1861), 15–62; Cf. the translation in James C. VanderKam, *The Book of Jubilees* (CSCO 511; Leuven: Peeters, 1989). An up to date discussion of the palimpsest, its character, contents and history can be found in Todd R. Hanneken, "The Book of Jubilees in Latin," in *Deutero-Canonical Writings*. Vol. 2 of *The Textual History of the Bible* (ed. Armin Lange and Matthias Henze; Leiden: Brill, forthcoming).

(6) Many of these sources have been known to scholars since before EJ was known in Europe. Johann Fabricius' collection of citations from *Little Genesis* predates by over a century Heinrich Ewald's publication of the first manuscript of Jubilees to make its way to Europe. Cf. Johann Fabricius, *Pseudepigraphus Veteris Testamenti* (2 vols.; Hamburg: T.C. Felginer, 1722–23), 1:849–64; 2:120–22; Heinrich Ewald, "Ueber die Aethiopischen Handschriften zu Tübingen," *Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 5 (1844): 164–201. For a recent overview, cf. James C. VanderKam, "The Manuscript Tradition of Jubilees," in *Enoch and the Mosaic Torah: The Evidence of Jubilees* (ed. Gabriele Boccaccini and Giovanni Ibba; Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2009), 3–21.

not come from individual passages in Jubilees, but which seem to be culled from Jubilees on a thematic basis. All three of these categories are interesting from the perspective of textual and literary plurality, as there is a discrepancy between the wide range of the use of Jubilees material and the very scant manuscript evidence transmission of the work as a whole. In the following, I will discuss theories of how these different streams of transmission may have taken form.

Complete Copies

In antiquity, Jubilees—in its fullest form known from EJ—was transmitted as such from Hebrew to Greek, Latin, and Ethiopic. Beyond this, there is not enough evidence to prove the existence of copies of the work in other languages, (7) and no post-Qumran Hebrew manuscripts have been found. As there are no extant manuscripts or fragments of Jubilees in Greek, we can neither prove nor establish a date for the Greek version based on direct evidence. It is commonly accepted that Jubilees was written in Hebrew and translated first into Greek, and then from Greek into Latin and Ethiopic. (8) The only known Latin manuscript, a palimpsest, is dated to the fifth century CE, (9) and though the oldest extant manuscript of EJ is from the fourteenth century, (10) the Ethiopic translation was likely made between the fourth and sixth centuries CE, the same period in which much of the Hebrew Bible and other literature was translated from Greek. (11) Thus, the Greek translation must have existed by the fourth or fifth century CE. It has been suggested that the date of the translation into Greek must be prior to the work of Epiphanius in the second half of the fourth century CE, or even prior to the works of Sextus Julius Africanus in the

(7) Eugène Tisserant (“Fragments syriaques du Livre des Jubilés,” *RB* 30 [1921]: 55–86; 206–32) argued that there was a Syriac translation that served as the source for the Jubilees material in the *Anonymous Chronicle up to the Year 1234*, but this has been strongly challenged, most recently in Andy Hilken, “The Anonymous Syriac Chronicle up to the Year 1234 and its Sources” (PhD diss.; Ghent University, 2014), 64–102.

(8) Cf. the discussions of this in Robert H. Charles, *The Book of Jubilees, or The Little Genesis* (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1902), xxxii–xxxiii; James C. VanderKam, *Textual and Historical Studies in the Book of Jubilees* (HSM 14; Missoula, MT: Scholars Press, 1977), 1–8.

(9) Ceriani, *Monumenta Sacra et Profana*, 1: 15–62; Hanneken, “The Book of Jubilees in Latin.”

(10) Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana P.I.B. 21 (*olim* PIB A.2.12).

(11) Edward Ullendorff, *Ethiopia and the Bible: The Schweich Lectures of the British Academy 1967* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1968), 51–55; cf. Michael A. Knibb, *Translating the Bible: The Ethiopic Version of the Old Testament* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), 2–3.

beginning of the third century CE. (12) However, it has not clear whether Epiphanius, Africanus and the other Greek writers knew the entire work of Jubilees, or a selection of passages from it. (13)

In sum, manuscripts of the entire text of Jubilees were in circulation in the first few centuries CE. The limited manuscript evidence suggests that Jubilees was translated relatively early to Greek, and then to Latin and Ethiopic by the sixth century CE, but it is unknown whether the work as a whole had a wider circulation during this period. The lack of manuscript evidence may suggest that Jubilees as a whole fell into distaste in Christian and Jewish circles during Late Antiquity, perhaps as part of the canon debate, but this may also simply reflect Jubilees as a whole not being widely read and circulated.

Narratives in other Writings

If Jubilees as a complete work was not in wide circulation during Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages then there must be another explanation for the widespread use of material related to Jubilees in Greek, Syriac and Hebrew texts from this period. This challenge was initially addressed by Heinrich Gelzer, who argued that the use of Jubilees material in later chronicles could be traced back to earlier influential chronicles, and ultimately to Sextus Julius Africanus. Gelzer's theory has since been nuanced by William Adler, who argued that in addition to being dependent on other chronicles, many chronographers used material from a collection of passages from ancient works. (14) These hypothetical collections would explain why only a select number of narratives from Jubilees are used by the chroniclers, and why their respective rewriting of the Jubilees narratives differ from each other, including different details that can be traced back to Jubilees.

Evidence in favor of Jubilees existing in collections of excerpts is provided by Martha Himmelfarb, who discusses not Greek or Syriac sources, but Hebrew. (15) Himmelfarb shows that several narratives from Jubilees found in Medieval midrashim could have been transmitted via collections containing Jubilees material. Three examples from *Midrash Aggadah* seem to have been dependent on Jubilees, and not on

(12) Cf. VanderKam, *Textual and Historical Studies*, 7–8.

(13) This discussion is elaborated on below.

(14) William Adler, *Time Immemorial: Archaic History and Its Sources in Christian Chronography from Julius Africanus to George Syncellus* (Dumbarton Oaks Studies 26; Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks, 1989).

(15) Martha Himmelfarb, "Some Echoes of Jubilees in Medieval Hebrew Literature," in *Tracing the Threads: Studies in the Vitality of Jewish Pseudepigrapha* (ed. John C. Reeves; EJL 6; Atlanta, GA: SBL, 1994), 115–41.

other possible sources for interpretations. (16) The first is Jub. 4:15, where the name Jared is connected to the descent of the Watchers, and interpreted in a positive way. Himmelfarb argues that Jubilees is the only known text that interprets the initial descent of the Watchers in positive terms, and that this view is not present in the Greek chronicles, which thus could not have served as an intermediary. The second passage is the story of Enoch from Jub. 4:17–23, where *Midrash Aggadah* is very similar to Jubilees, especially in the details of Enoch's time and experience in walking with the angels for 300 years. Himmelfarb notes that this narrative is often used in the Chronicles, but finds no other evidence of citations of the Jubilees form in them. (17) The third passage from *Midrash Aggadah* is a comment on Gen 12:6 ("The Canaanites were then in the land") where the division of the Earth among the children of Noah is discussed and the Canaanites are accused of trespassing, thus giving the Israelites the right to destroy them. These details are only known from Jubilees, and the Chronicles that cite Jubilees on this issue. (18) Since *Midrash Aggadah* seems to have details not preserved in the Chronicles or any other source known from Antiquity or the early Middle Ages, Himmelfarb concludes that it is very possible that the author of the Midrash was reliant on a collection of Jubilees passages, and not on the Chronicles.

Thus, a second stream of transmission brought a small collection of excerpts into the works of a certain group of writings from Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages, not as complete copies of Jubilees read as such, but as details pertaining to the narratives of Genesis. It is not clear what form these collections would have had. There may have been collections containing only Jubilees material, or larger collections containing various sources or material on a subject or single book.

Lists

The final stream of transmission of Jubilees material includes lists of material that seem to have been extracted from a variety of passages from Jubilees, and transmitted independently of the rest of the book. The most prevalent of these lists includes the names of the patriarchs who are unnamed in the text of Genesis. The name tradition is sometimes explicitly connected to Jubilees, as in the list found in the Syriac manuscript British Library Add. 12.154, in a section titled *The Names of the Wives of the Patriarchs According to the Book*

(16) The details of all of these discussions are found in *ibid.*, 118–24.

(17) *Ibid.*, 119–20.

(18) Cf. *Ibid.*, 122.

which Among the Hebrews is Called Jubilees, (19) and in certain Chronicles, (20) but is also attested without attribution to Jubilees in Hebrew, (21) Greek, (22) Armenian, (23) Arabic, (24) and, to a certain extent in Coptic. (25) Philological analysis of the names in these lists compared with Jubilees on the one hand and other sources that mention names of the matriarchs on the other, points to Jubilees as the ultimate source, but as there is no manuscript evidence for Jubilees as a complete work in several of the linguistic traditions, it seems unlikely that the writers or translators of the lists relied on manuscripts of Jubilees, but rather other copies of the lists. In other words, it is clear that lists of the names of the matriarchs derived from Jubilees circulated independently of Jubilees.

A second list that is known from several sources is a list of the twenty-two works of creation, presumably derived from Jub. 2, the Jubilees creation account. In addition to being cited extensively in Epiphanius, Syncellus, and the *Anonymous Chronicle*, this list is found

(19) BL Add 12,154 f. 180 r–v. Cf. Ceriani, *Monumenta Sacra et Profana*, 2:ix–x; Robert H. Charles, *The Ethiopic Version of the Hebrew Book of Jubilees* (Anecdota Oxoniensia; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1895), 183. BL Add 12,154 is in total 294 folios, and the list of names is the only reference to Jubilees that I am aware of. Thus, this is clearly not a manuscript or fragment of Jubilees but attributes the content of the list to Jubilees.

(20) For a discussion of the names of the matriarchs in this material, see W. Lowndes Lipscomb, “A Tradition from the Book of Jubilees in Armenian,” *JJS* 29 (1978): 149–63.

(21) The Hebrew material comes from three sources: the manuscript known as the Fahri Bible (Sassoon Collection ms. 368), which was copied between 1366 and 1383 includes a list of names in the front matter, cf. Abraham A. Harkavy, “Things Old and New: Memories from My Trip to Jerusalem,” *haPisgah* 1 (1895): 58–59 [Hebrew]; a 14–15th century commentary on Isaiah and the Minor Prophets, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Cod.Hebr. 391 (*olim* 421) f. 91v, includes a list of the names of the matriarchs on the back of the final folio of the manuscript; cf. Joseph Perles, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der hebraischen und aramäischen Studien* (München: T. Ackermann, 1884), 90; and Samuel Algazi, *Toledot Adam* (Venice, 1585).

(22) Universitätsbibliothek Basel AN III 13. On this see also Lipscomb, “A Tradition from the Book of Jubilees,” 149–63.

(23) Lipscomb, “A Tradition from the Book of Jubilees,” 149–63.

(24) The material in al-Ṭabarī's *Ta'rik al-rusul wa'l-mulūk* [The History of the Prophets and Kings] shares many of the names with the Jubilees tradition, but also deviates in certain aspects. See Franz Rosenthal, *The History of al-Ṭabarī*. Vol. 1: *General Introduction and From the Creation to the Flood* (New York: SUNY Press, 1989), 317, 335–38, 343, 346; cf. also the discussion in Tal Ilan, “Biblical Women's Names in the Apocryphal Traditions,” *JSP* 11 (1993): 3–67.

(25) The Coptic fragment contains a passage that contains the names of the wives of the sons of Noah, cf. Andrew Crislip, “The Book of Jubilees in Coptic: An Early Christian Florilegium on the Family of Noah,” *BASP* 40 (2003): 27–44.

in *Midrash Tadshe*. (26) It seems that the complete inventory of creation that is enumerated in Jub. 2 was more appealing to some later writers, who chose to follow the Jubilees version instead of Genesis. The rather extensive citations in the Chronicles and the terse form of the list in *Midrash Tadshe* may show the evolution of this tradition, for the citation of an important text transmitted independently of Jubilees, to a list based on that text.

A final list, now known only from *Midrash Tadshe*, retains the birthdates for the sons of Jacob, as well as the length of their lives and the lives of the patriarchs and matriarchs. (27) All of this information is derived from Jubilees, and the Midrash even follows Jubilees where it contradicts the order of the births of the sons of Jacob in Genesis. Based on this, it seems very likely that this list was derived from Jubilees, and that the writer of the midrash took the source to be authoritative enough to not correct it with biblical details.

The three lists described here should be seen as part of an independent stream of transmission, not reliant on the transmission of Jubilees in complete copies, but which brought information gleaned from Jubilees into later sources.

The Qumran Jubilees Manuscripts

With these streams of transmission of Jubilees material in the Late Antique and Medieval periods in mind, I will now turn to a discussion of eighteen Qumran manuscripts related to Jubilees. (28) I am primarily interested in the possible contents of the individual manuscripts based on their size, style, and layout, as well as the specific topics of the texts themselves. In other words, I am interested in the forms in which Jubilees material was copied among the Qumran manuscripts, and what this can say about why they were copied. As a starting point for this discussion, I do not assume that all of the Qumran manuscripts containing text from Jubilees contain complete copies of the Hebrew precursor to EJ. (29) To attempt to determine which scrolls may have

(26) This is pointed out and discussed in Himmelfarb, "Some Echoes of Jubilees," 124–25.

(27) Cf. Himmelfarb, "Some Echoes of Jubilees," 125–26.

(28) I include in this discussion not only the manuscripts containing text easily identified with Jubilees, but also texts that are similar to, but not necessarily identical with EJ, such as 4Q217 and the so-called Pseudo-Jubilees manuscripts. The most pertinent reason for including these manuscripts here is precisely the fact that their *exclusion* elsewhere is based on the notion of textual and literary stability, whereas I am here interested in textual and literary plurality in Jubilees.

(29) Cf. Matthew P. Monger, "4Q216 and the State of Jubilees at Qumran," *RevQ* 26 (2014), 595–612; Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar, "The Qumran *Jubilees* Manuscripts as Evidence for the Literary Growth of the Book," *RevQ* 26 (2014): 579–94.

had large amounts of text and which may have had relatively little text, I use column height and width, line spacing, and scroll length as factors. (30) Many of the manuscripts are too small, or are written in a style that does not reflect what we would expect in a large manuscript capable of containing the entire text of Jubilees. (31) Based on this, I will review the manuscripts here, developing a hypothesis that the manuscripts can be grouped into three categories, two of which correspond to the categories and streams of transmission outlined above, 1) complete or bisected copies, (32) 2) shorter passages copied alone or in collections, and 3) manuscripts reflecting a redactional process.

Complete Copies

There is limited evidence for complete copies of Jubilees in the Qumran material. There are no manuscripts that contain multiple complete intact columns, so we are reliant on reconstructions in order to evaluate the length of all of the Qumran Jubilees manuscripts. For many of the manuscripts, a reconstruction is not possible, but we can still make educated deductions about the type of scroll, based on the estimated line length, distance between lines, and style of writing. Considering that the text of EJ is longer than the book of Isaiah, we would expect a complete copy would require a scroll of comparable size to the Isaiah scrolls. (33) Another factor that must be considered is whether Jubilees was bisected when copied. Eibert Tigchelaar has suggested that Jubilees manuscripts may have been bisected, with the division coming

(30) The tendencies of the Qumran material are outlined in Emanuel Tov, *Scribal Practices and Approaches Reflected in the Texts Found in the Judean Desert* (STDJ 54; Leiden: Brill, 2004), where Tov further specifies that there is a “direct correlation between the size of the leather and columns and the length of the scroll: large columns imply long scrolls and small columns imply small scrolls.” The analyses of manuscripts retaining multiple fragments from different columns are thus more secure than those with only single or very few remaining fragments.

(31) Cf. Tigchelaar, “The Qumran *Jubilees* Manuscripts,” 582, who argues that “scrolls covering the entire book of Isaiah, like 1QIsa^a and 1QIsa^b, require a relatively small script with many lines per column (and a small distance between the lines), this clearly is not the case with most *Jubilees* fragments.”

(32) Terms such as “complete” are misleading, as I do wish to imply that Jubilees has a single complete form at this or any stage in its development. Here and in the following I use complete rather in a relative sense, implying that the text as was available to the scribe was copied in its entirety. Further, I include in this category the possibility of bisection, on which see below.

(33) As a rule, I am hesitant to reconstruct scrolls as being significantly longer than the longest preserved scrolls, i.e. 1QIsa^a (17 sheets totaling 7.34 meters) and 11Q19 (18 sheets totaling 8.146 meters).

after Jub. 23. (34) I will consider this a possibility in the following, and count possible copies of one of the bisections in the same category as entire copies.

There is only one manuscript retaining a significant amount of text that clearly seems to fit the parameters that are necessary for assuming a complete copy of Jubilees, namely 4Q223–224 (4QpapJubilees^h), which, according to the reconstruction in DJD 13, had 54 lines per column. (35) This papyrus manuscript is written in a late Hasmonean script, with consistently sized letters, and between 5 and 6 mm between the tops of letters. The text of the extant fragments come from Jub. 32, 34–41, including parts of the stories of Jacob and Esau and Joseph. The extremely fragmentary nature of this manuscript makes its reconstruction necessarily hypothetical, but a comparison with EJ suggests that a complete manuscript of Jubilees in this format would require at least 40 columns of text making the scroll 5–6 meters in length. (36)

It is possible that the Cave 1 manuscripts, 1Q17 (1QJubilees^a) and 1Q18 (1QJubilees^b) were part of a complete manuscript of Jubilees, or two separate complete or bisected manuscripts. (37) 1Q17 has only one extant fragment, written in a small early Herodian script in neatly organized lines. There is about 6 mm between the ruled lines, and line length is estimated at 11 cm. The text of this fragment is from Jub. 27:19–20. 1Q18 is clearly written by a different hand than 1Q17, and is made up of two securely identified fragments from Jub. 38:8–10, and three smaller unidentified fragments. In comparison with 1Q17, the script is less regular, the distance between lines is slightly larger (7.5 mm), and the line length is longer (12 cm), so the editors of DJD 1 assigned these fragments to two different manuscripts, but note that it is possible that a single manuscript was copied by two hands. It is very difficult to make decisive claims about these manuscripts based on these small fragments, but we cannot rule them out as possible complete or bisected manuscripts of Jubilees.

(34) Tigchelaar, “The Qumran *Jubilees* Manuscripts,” 589–93.

(35) James C. VanderKam and Józef T. Milik, “4QpapJubilees^h,” in *Qumran Cave 4. VIII: Parabiblical Texts, Part 1* (ed. Harold Attridge et al.; DJD 13; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994), 95–140. Note that this manuscript was once considered two separate manuscripts, which explains why the manuscript is labelled with two numbers: 4Q223–224.

(36) Based on measurements of 4Q223–224 2 ii in DJD 13, I estimate the writing block of the column to be 12–13 cm, with margins of approximately 1 cm. Cf. Tigchelaar, “The Qumran *Jubilees* Manuscripts,” 582, who reconstructs a 10-cm column width, and thus a 4-meter-long scroll.

(37) These fragments are edited in DJD 1 (see Józef T. Milik, “Livres des Jubilés,” in *Qumran Cave 1* [ed. D. Barthélemy et al.; DJD 1; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1955], 82–84), where it is stated that “les différences paléographiques entre les mss. 17 et 18 indiquent vraisemblablement deux exemplaires, ou, ce qui est moins probable, deux mains dans le même exemplaire” (p. 83).

Of the Cave 2 Jubilees manuscripts, only 2Q19 (2QJubilees^a) could possibly have contained a substantial amount of text. This manuscript is made up of a single, small fragment written in a fine Herodian script, with a distance between lines of 5 mm and average letter height of 2 mm. The extant lines suggest a line length of at least 12 cm, which could correspond to a medium to large sized scroll. The text is from Jub. 23:7–8, which concerns the burial of Abraham. As with the Cave 1 fragments, we cannot make decisive claims about the nature of 2Q19's original extent, but we cannot rule out a complete or bisected manuscript of Jubilees. (38)

3Q5 (3QJubilees) is made up of three fragments containing text from Jubilees 23:6–7, 10, 12–13 written in a late Herodian script. The large distance between lines (8–9 mm) and relatively large letters (3–4 mm) make it difficult to imagine this as a complete copy, though it is not inconceivable that if Jubilees was bisected and the first half included Jub. 1–23, these fragments would be at the inside of the rolled scroll, and have the best chance at preservation. (39)

Two manuscripts from Cave 4 meet the requirements for possible complete or bisected copies of Jubilees: 4Q223–224, discussed above, and 4Q219 (4QJubilees^d). 4Q219 is reconstructed as having 38 lines per column, with 7–8 mm between tops of letters and a column width of approximately 13 cm. The text contained in these fragments is from Jub. 21:1–22:1. (40) The beginning of Jub. 22 is a transition to a new section in Jubilees, and probably indicates that the manuscript was not a collection of shorter passages, though we cannot rule it out. Given the amount of space needed for Jub. 21 here, a complete copy would require 68 columns—least 9 meters (41)—so it seems more likely that 4Q219 was a bisected copy of Jubilees, retaining the first half, with Jub. 23 rolled on the inside.

This gives a total of six manuscripts that may have been complete or bisected copies of Jubilees. Looking at the dates of the manuscripts, we find that half are dated to the Herodian period (1Q17, 2Q19, and 3Q5) and half to the late Hasmonean period (1Q18, 4Q219, and 4Q223–224). This may indicate that complete manuscripts of Jubilees were not in wide circulation, at least among those who made deposits in the Qumran caves, prior to the late Hasmonean period and Herodian periods, that is from the last half of the first century BCE.

(38) On 2Q20, see below.

(39) Cf. Tigchelaar, "The Qumran *Jubilees* Manuscripts," 590.

(40) For a further discussion of Jub. 21, see below on 4Q220.

(41) Cf. Tigchelaar, "The Qumran *Jubilees* Manuscripts," 589. Nine meters seems to be a fairly conservative estimate, as the writing block appears to be 12–13 cm with margins up to 1.8 cm visible on fragment.

Narratives and Collections

Several Qumran manuscripts containing text from Jubilees do not fit the expected profile of manuscripts containing complete copies. There is a correlation between the content of these manuscripts and passages that appear as citations or allusions in later works. (42) I want to raise the possibility here that these passages were copied independently of the rest of Jubilees due to the interest in their content, not in the source of the content. In other words, I wonder if these manuscripts could serve as evidence of the transmission of individual passages and/or collections of passages from Jubilees already in the Qumran fragments. I am careful here not to assume that these passages were necessarily excerpted from a complete copy of Jubilees, but may also reflect a longer line of development from which the text of Jubilees also developed. I will review the manuscripts that may be viewed as having shorter passages that were independently circulated, or that could have been part of collections of passages here.

The first manuscript that fits into this category is 2Q20 (2QJubilees^b). 2Q20 is written in a neat Herodian hand from the first century CE. The distance between lines and letter size may fit that of longer manuscripts, but the column width is only 6 cm. Because of this, it seems unlikely that it would have contained a large section of text. The extant text comes from Jub. 46:1–3, and concerns the death of Joseph. This particular passage is referred to in the Greek manuscript Athos Koutloumous 178, f. 11v.5–7. (43) It seems that the additional details about the death of Jacob in the Jubilees account were interesting enough to be extracted from the greater narrative. This, taken with the small size of the manuscript may indicate that 2Q20 was either copied by itself, or as a part of manuscript containing a collection of details of Genesis.

(42) I will not go into all the details related to the use of these passages in later works, but collections of material that is presumably taken from Jubilees can be found in Fabricius, *Pseudepigraphus Beteris Testamenti*; Hermann Rösensch, *Das Buch der Jubiläen oder die Kleine Genesis* (Leipzig: Fues, 1874), 252–382. Cf. also the notes in Charles, *The Ethiopic Version of the Hebrew Book of Jubilees*; idem, *The Book of Jubilees, or The Little Genesis*. More recently, much of the Greek material has been reprinted in Albert-Marie Denis, “Liber Jubilaeorum,” in *Fragmenta Pseudepigraphorum Quae Supersunt Graeca* (PVTG 3; Leiden: Brill, 1970), 70–102.

(43) Cf. Denis, “Liber Jubilaeorum,” 99. This manuscript includes reports of several detail of Jubilees that were apparently viewed by someone who had access to Jubilees in Constantinople. There are only a few passages reported, so it is not clear if the purported reading of Jubilees was of a complete manuscript, or material from Jubilees. Cf. also Charles, *The Book of Jubilees*, xl.

4Q216 (4QJubilees^a) is an interesting example of a manuscript that may contain a narrative known from Jubilees without the entire work. 4Q216 is made up of fragments that were inscribed on two separate sheets by two different scribes, working in different periods. The sheets were subsequently sown together. It is certain that the fragments belong together as fragment 12 retains the stitching, and text in the hand of both scribes, on opposite sides of the fragment. The first sheet contains text from Jub. 1 in a late Hasmonean script from the last half of the second century BCE, and the second sheet from Jub. 2 written in a standard Hasmonean script from the first half of the first century BCE. In a recent study, I argue that the manuscript may not have extended beyond the second sheet, which would mean that the scroll contained at the most Jub. 1–2. (44) I am inclined to think that sheet 2, containing Jub. 2:1–24, was a single manuscript on a single sheet, and that sheet 1, written by a later hand, was connected to sheet 2 not as a replacement of a damaged sheet, but due to the association of the texts or the redaction of the larger work. (45) 4Q216 sheet 2 contains the Jubilees creation account, without the lengthy section that elaborates on the sabbath regulations in Jub. 2:25–33. The Jubilees creation account in Jub. 2 is an important text in later sources, as it appears to have influenced both Epiphanius' *On Weights and Measures* and the *Anonymous Chronicle up to the Year 1234*, which both rely heavily on this passage. (46) The value of this text as separate from the rest of Jubilees is apparent, and 4Q216 sheet 2 can be viewed as an early example of the transmission of an important text from Jubilees in a different format.

4Q220 (4QJubilees^c) is comprised of only a single composite fragment, making it difficult to draw conclusions as to the extent of the text the manuscript once contained. The scribe is inconsistent both with regards to letter size and line spacing. The average distance between tops of letters is 8 mm, but there is a good deal of variation here. The extant text here belongs to Jub. 21:5–10, Abraham's farewell discourse to Isaac. This passage is primarily concerned with ritual purity and

(44) Matthew P. Monger, "4Q216: A New Material Analysis," *Semitica* 60 (2018): 309–33. There are several damage patterns found in the fragments of 4Q216 which can be aligned. My material reconstruction suggests that these represent successive revolutions of the scroll, with Jub. 2 on the inside of the scroll, and that it would not be possible to fit an additional text following the extant column 7.

(45) Cf. Charlotte Hempel, "The Place of the *Book of Jubilees* at Qumran and Beyond," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls in Their Historical Context* (ed. Timothy H. Lim; Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 2000), 187–96; Monger, "4Q216 and the State of Jubilees," 605–6.

(46) Passages relevant to this discussion in Epiphanius' *On Weights and Measures* and the *Anonymous Chronicle up to the Year 1234* are reprinted and translated in James C. VanderKam, *The Book of Jubilees*, 1:258–60, 2:328–30.

sacrifices and the material here is very similar to T.Levi 9, but the Jubilees text differs in that the instructions are given from Abraham to Isaac where in T.Levi they are given from Isaac to Levi. (47) Different theories about the relationship of the two works have been proposed (48) but it is clear that T.Levi and Jubilees have much in common in their presentation of the priestly functions of Isaac and Levi. This text is clearly an important text, both because of its important topic and because of its relation to T.Levi. If this story is part of the source material for Jubilees and/or T.Levi, it seems a distinct possibility that this passage could be copied independently of both works.

The status of 4Q221 is more difficult to determine. The script seems hasty, and the distance between lines, size of the letters and spacing varies throughout. (49) The wide range of extant text found on the eight identified fragments, extending from Jub. 21 to Jub. 39, is difficult to account for without reconstructing either a complete scroll, or a collection of excerpts. Lines are relatively narrow, and vary in width. Fragment 2 retains the margin between two columns of text, and if Józef Milik and James VanderKam are correct in their suggestion that fragment 2 ii contains text from Jub. 22:30, then the columns involved were only 16 lines long. (50) Milik has also noted that this script should be seen in connection with 4Q266 (4QDamascus Document^a), a manuscript of CD. (51) 4Q266 is written in the same manner, and is reconstructed as being over 4 meters long, so the possibility of this style of writing being from a relatively long scroll cannot be ruled out. However, the average line length in 4Q266 is 50 letters, with 24–25 lines per column while 4Q221 has only 43 letters per line on average, and only 16 lines per column. Shorter narrower columns would suggest a shorter scroll, and the fact that extant text spans both sides of Tigchelaar's proposed bisecting point at the end of Jubilees 23 means that we are likely not dealing with a complete or bisected copy. However, the content of this scroll may point in the direction of this manuscript being a collec-

(47) I do not intend to revisit arguments about the relationship between the Testament of Levi, the Aramaic Levi Document, and Jubilees here.

(48) Cf. for example James Kugel, *The Ladder of Jacob* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2006), 115–68; Esther Eshel, "The Aramaic Levi Document, the Genesis Apocryphon, and Jubilees: A Study of Shared Traditions," in *Enoch and the Mosaic Torah: The Evidence of Jubilees* (ed. Gabriele Boccaccini and Giovanni Ibba; Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2009), 82–98.

(49) James C. VanderKam and Józef T. Milik, "4QJubilees^f," in *Qumran Cave 4. VIII: Parabiblical Texts, Part 1* (ed. H. Attridge et al.; DJD 13; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994), 63–86: "As Milik has noted, the arrangement of the text is somewhat careless, so the space between lines and the size of the letters vary" (p. 63).

(50) VanderKam and Milik, "4QJubilees^f," 70.

(51) VanderKam and Milik, "4QJubilees^f," 64. To my eye, it is possible that these two manuscripts were copied by the same hand.

tion of narratives. The first three fragments contain text from the long account of Abraham's death in Jub. 21–23. This material is discussed above, and is part of the reference material for T. Levi. The text of the next three extant passages (Jub. 33:12–15; 37:11–15 and 38:6–8) have in common that they make up a source for a section in the *Anonymous Chronicle up to the Year 1234*. (52) The final passage extant in 4Q221 is Jub. 39:4–9, the story of Joseph and Potiphar's wife. Reference is made here to Joseph remembering the words read to him by his father, Jacob, and this has parallels in several other works, although the direction of influence here is difficult to determine. (53) As all of the passages extant in 4Q221 seem to be of interest to later writers, and in light of the small format of the manuscript, it seems plausible that this was not a complete copy of Jubilees, but rather a collection of texts that show differences from the parallel Genesis accounts.

4Q222 (4QJubilees^g) is written with large letters, approximately 8 mm between tops of letters, and 40–42 letters per line. This format makes it highly unlikely that it was a complete copy of Jubilees. The extant text on the fragments is from Jub. 25:9–12 and 27:6–7. (54) There is an interesting relationship between these two passages that may speak to the reason for them being copied, if they were indeed circulated independently of the rest of Jubilees. The text comes from the Jubilees account of conversations between Jacob and Rebecca. The specific sections that are extant have to do with Jacob's promise to not marry "among the descendants of Canaan's daughters," and subsequent departure in search of a wife. There is a clear polemic in Jubilees against intermarriage, and this could be the motive for the collection of these texts independently of the rest of Jubilees. Alternatively, we could envision a collection of narratives and dialogues related to the Jacob cycle being preserved without the entire book.

The final manuscript that may be considered an independent collection of passages is 11Q12 (11QJubilees). (55) The late Herodian

(52) *Anonymous Chronicle* 55.24–58.25 retains this text, cf. VanderKam, *Jubilees*, 1:287–92; 2:356–61.

(53) Reference to Joseph remembering Jacob's commands is found in Jub. 39:5–7 with parallels in the Testament of Joseph 3:1–3, Joseph and Aseneth 7:4–5, and Targum Pseudo-Jonathan Gen. 49:24. Cf. James Kugel, *Traditions of the Bible* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1998), 447–8.

(54) VanderKam and Milik, "4QpapJubilees^b," 87–94 suggests that an additional fragment (frg. 3) from Jub. 48:5 may be part of the manuscript. However, after viewing the fragments of 4Q222 in the IAA scrolls laboratory, Torleif Elgvin and I have concluded that this fragment is not from the same manuscript as fragments 1–2. This is based on the thickness and preparation of the fragments, the scribal hand, and the line and letter spacing.

(55) Florentino García Martínez et al., "11QJubilees," in *Qumran Cave 11. II: 11Q2–18, 11Q20–31* (ed. Florentino García Martínez et al.; DJD 23; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), 207–220.

script of 11Q12 is very regular, and is positioned consistently 1 mm below visible dry lines. The distance between the dry lines is ca. 8 mm, and the width of the letters is approximately 2–2.1 mm. The fragments contain text from Jub. 4:6–5:2 and 12:15–29. In DJD 20, columns are reconstructed as containing 30 lines. Given the calculations in DJD 20, the scroll would have already had 15 columns and been nearly 2 meters long when we reach Jub. 5:2. This format makes it very unlikely that there was room for the remaining 45 chapters of Jubilees in the same manuscript. I am thus inclined to look for other explanations for the collection of passages. Here, we need not look further than the *Anonymous Chronicle up to the Year 1234*. All of the extant passages in 11Q12 also serve as sources for the *Anonymous Chronicle*. In fact, the material from Jub. 4–5 and 11–12 makes up about a quarter of the material from Jubilees in the *Anonymous Chronicle*. Especially interesting is the fact that there is a significant variant between manuscripts of EJ on the one hand and 11Q12 and the *Anonymous Chronicle* on the other. The variant concerns Jub. 12:29 where EJ contains an extra line as compared with 11Q12 and the *Anonymous Chronicle*, (56) possibly indicating that these two sources stand closer together in their transmission history. Given the high correlation between the text of 11Q12 and the sources for the *Anonymous Chronicle*, it may be possible that 11Q12 indeed was a collection of passages that was circulated independently of the rest of the book of Jubilees.

So far, we have seen six manuscripts that are possible candidates for status as containing collections of passages from Jubilees circulating independently of the book. A further point that needs to be discussed in this connection here is the so-called Pseudo-Jubilees manuscripts.

According to the most recent analysis by Michael Segal, we should consider 4Q225 and 4Q226 as part of a development of Jubilees, a sort of a Rewritten Jubilees text, whereas 4Q227 should rather be viewed as representing an earlier form than the text of Jub. 4. (57) There are many reasons to look to the Pseudo-Jubilees manuscripts in a discussion of textual and literary plurality, but here my main interest in the extent of these compositions. 4Q225 has narrow (35–40 letters), short columns with only 14 lines. 4Q226 has even shorter lines (25 letters per line), but the height of the columns is not easy to reconstruct. (58) The extant

(56) Cf. García Martínez et al., “11QJubilees,” 218; VanderKam, *Jubilees*, II 74.

(57) Michael Segal, “The Dynamics of Composition and Rewriting in Jubilees and Pseudo-Jubilees,” *RevQ* 26 (2014): 555–77.

(58) These two manuscripts may reflect two copies of the same work, or two different, closely related compositions. Cf. the discussion in and references in Segal, “The Dynamics of Composition and Rewriting,” 566 n. 35.

text includes sections that cannot be identified directly with Jubilees, as well as passages related to the promise of a child to Abraham, the birth of Isaac and story of the binding of Isaac (the *Aqedah*). The text shows signs of being a rewritten or reworked version of the text known from EJ. (59) Segal has argued that the story of the *Aqedah* in Jub. 17–18 was originally transmitted independently of Jubilees and later incorporated into it. (60) Due to their size and style, 4Q225–226 should be seen in connection with this independent transmission, though in this case as a further development of that tradition. These small manuscripts may be thus be an example of the type of manuscript that Segal envisions for this passage prior to its incorporation into Jubilees, a transmission independent of the rest of Jubilees.

It is more difficult to determine the extent of 4Q227, as there is no comparable text that can be used in reconstructions, and the line width and column height are not readily discernible. Lines are spaced neatly, with 7–8 mm between the dry lines, and the script is a consistent though fairly wide Herodian script. The content of 4Q227 is especially interesting in this connection. The text of this manuscript is very similar to Jub. 4, and if Segal's analysis is correct, then this should be read as belonging to an earlier tradition than that which has made its way into EJ. There is no evidence that this text belongs to a complete earlier version of Jubilees and the text itself, which closely resembles Jub. 4:17–23, is a productive passage in Jubilees, being found in different contexts throughout the Greek and Syriac sources that use Jubilees material. (61) Due to the state of the manuscript, we simply do not know if this passage was part of a larger work, a collection of narratives, or an individual passage transmitted on its own. On the whole, the evidence of the Pseudo-Jubilees manuscripts seems to point to these Jubilees-like compositions not being as large in scope as Jubilees itself. In other words, we are not talking about a rewriting of Jubilees, but rather the transmission of certain passages in a form that is different from the transmission of the entire work.

Redactional Texts

The two categories of manuscripts described above account for fifteen of the eighteen manuscripts containing text from Jubilees found

(59) Cf. Segal, "The Dynamics of Composition and Rewriting," 566–75.

(60) Michael Segal, *The Book of Jubilees: Rewritten Bible, Redaction, Ideology and Theology* (JSJSup 117; Leiden: Brill, 2007), 191–209.

(61) The Jubilees version of this story is likely a source for *The Anonymous Chronicle up to the Year 1234*, George Cedrenus' *Synopsis Historion*, as well as *Midrash Aggadah* (on this, see above).

at Qumran. In this section, I want to look at possible explanations for the remaining manuscripts, 4Q176, 4Q217, and 4Q218 (along with sheet 1 of 4Q216), from a slightly different perspective. These manuscripts center around passages in Jubilees (Jub. 1; 2:26–27; 23) that have been analyzed by different scholars as belonging to an editorial layer. All of these manuscripts are written in a format that suggest that they were not complete manuscripts, like those discussed in the previous section, and thus I want to question their use. Tigchelaar has suggested that some of these manuscripts can provide evidence of the literary growth of Jubilees, and I want to expand on those ideas here. (62)

Two manuscripts retain text from Jub. 1: 4Q216 fragments 1–12 i and 4Q217. Jub. 1 has been widely discussed as a place of possible redaction or literary growth. (63) 4Q217 contains text that is very similar to Jub. 1:1–4, 29 and 4Q216 fragments 1–12 i contain text from Jub. 1:1–2, 4–7 (column i) 1:7–15 (column ii) and 1:26–28 (column iv). The proposed column 3 in DJD 13 does not contain any fragments, and in a recent material analysis of 4Q216 I argue that the third column, containing Jub. 1:15b–25 was lacking from this manuscript. (64) In other words, the text of this manuscript represents a different text-type or stage in the development of Jub. 1 than is found in EJ. 4Q217 also contains text that most likely comes from a different text-type of Jub. 1 than is known from Ethiopic Jubilees. The text most closely resembles parts of Jub. 1:1–4 and 1:29. This is significant, as these are part of what several scholars consider the original layer of Jub. 1. Additionally, Jub. 1:29 has been considered corrupt in EJ since the work of Robert Charles, who noticed that the verse does not make sense as it stands in Ethiopic. The text of 4Q217, however, is so different from EJ that VanderKam does not accept 4Q217 as a manuscript of Jubilees in his recent overview of the manuscript traditions of Jubilees. (65) 4Q217 is interesting materially as it is a small papyrus manuscript with large sloppy writing that does not resemble the work of a scribe preparing a large scroll. Thus, it seems that we have two different texts of Jub. 1 evidenced at Qumran, both of which are different from EJ.

(62) Tigchelaar has addressed the same issues related to the growth of Jub. 1 and 23 in Tigchelaar, “The Qumran *Jubilees* Manuscripts,” 579–94.

(63) Cf. Michel Testuz, *Les idées religieuses du livre des jubilés* (Paris: Minard, 1960); Gene L. Davenport, *The Eschatology of the Book of Jubilees* (Studia Post-Biblica 20; Leiden: Brill, 1971); Tigchelaar, “The Qumran *Jubilees* Manuscripts,” 579–94.

(64) This is according to the same material analysis as noted above n. 44. The damage patterns align properly only when the third column is not included. Further, the text of Ethiopic Jubilees is substantially longer than space available in the missing column. Cf. Monger, “4Q216: A New Material Analysis,” 309–33.

(65) VanderKam, “The Manuscript Tradition of Jubilees,” 3–21.

Also interesting in this connection is the fact that sheet 1 of 4Q216, containing text from Jub. 1, was attached to a single sheet containing Jub. 2, the Jubilees creation account, sometime in the last half of the first century BCE. It is difficult to explain why a sheet containing text from Jub. 1, which serves as an introduction to the entire book, not just the Jubilees creation account, would be added to a manuscript that did not contain the entire work, whether or not it served as a replacement sheet. If we do not view the first sheet of 4Q216 and 4Q217 as being fragments of complete copies of Jubilees, what then are they? My proposal here is that the attachment of Jub. 1 to Jub. 2 in 4Q216 is part of an editorial process, that is to say that the first sheet of 4Q216 was written in the form it has in 4Q216 as a part of a redactional process where at least parts of Jubilees received a new form. This is also reflected in 4Q217, which may never have contained more than a form of Jub. 1, or may have served as an editorial notepad.

Jub. 2 is also only found in two manuscripts from Qumran, 4Q216 and 4Q218. The text in 4Q216 seems to have ended after Jub. 2:24, meaning that the lengthy elaboration on sabbath regulations, the part of the Jubilees creation account that differs most from Genesis, is missing. (66) 4Q218 is comprised of a single fragment that is written in a wide early Herodian script, with 6–7 mm between the tops of letters and only 35 letters per line. The fragment contains text from the passage that is missing at the end of Jub. 2 in 4Q216, namely from Jub. 2:26–27. Here, I want to propose that the same process of development is taking place in Jub. 2 as described in Jub. 1 above. It seems very possible that Jub. 2, in the form found in 4Q216, is an older text-type that was redacted during the last half of the first century BCE. This would not only account for the existence of 4Q218 with text from the passage lacking in 4Q216, but could also be seen in conjunction with the addition of sheet 1, containing Jub. 1 during the same period.

The final passage which I will discuss in this section is Jub. 23, a passage that has been noted for its eschatological character. The first manuscript in this category is 4Q176 19–21, a manuscript dated to the Herodian period. This manuscript was originally published in DJD 5 by John Allegro under the label 4QTanhûmîm, but fragments 19–21 were later identified by Menahem Kister as containing text from Jub. 23:21–23, 30–31. (67) The identification of fragment 21, with text from

(66) James Kugel notes that this section should be seen as an elaboration added after the composition of the rest of Jub. 2, cf. James Kugel, *A Walk Through Jubilees* (JSJSup 156; Leiden, Brill: 2012), 35–37.

(67) Menahem Kister, “Newly-Identified Fragments of the Book of Jubilees: Jub. 23:21–23, 30–31,” *RevQ* 12 (1987): 529–36.

Jub. 23:21–23, has been debated. Tigchelaar has summarized the evidence and concluded that fragment 21 belongs to 4Q221, not 4Q176. (68) The large, imprecise letters and irregular spacing of the manuscript point toward this not being a complete copy of Jubilees. Regardless of whether it belongs to 4Q221 or a separate manuscript, it is difficult to explain the narrow column size in fragment 21 and the apparent margin following Jub. 23:31. If this is the final column of the manuscript, then it seems that this is a different version of the text of Jub. 23, but if it is simply the end of a sheet, and the following sheet contained the rest of Jub. 23 and further text, we have to wonder how much of the text of Jubilees was in this manuscript. 4Q176 could thus be part of a larger manuscript, could show the existence of a different tradition in circulation during the Herodian period, or could be part of the redaction process. We may also question whether other manuscripts containing text from Jub. 23 may also exhibit features that point to the literary growth of this passage. As noted above, 2Q19 and 3Q5, both from the Herodian period, only contain text from Jub. 23, and may represent different stages in the development of Jub. 23. Both of these scrolls are so fragmentary that it is impossible to draw conclusions as to their original contents, but, it seems more possible that they are remains of bisected copies of Jubilees. This does not rule out the manuscripts containing evidence of different stages of the growth of book, as a possible place for redactional activity would be located at the end of a scroll.

Conclusion

In this essay, I have raised the question of whether the forms of the Qumran Jubilees manuscripts may give us an indication of the scope of their contents. The remains of the manuscripts point toward the existence of manuscripts not only containing complete copies of Jubilees, but also smaller manuscripts containing smaller portions of texts. Further, there seem to be correlations between the Qumran material and the various streams of transmission of Jubilees in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages. Among the manuscripts found in the caves near Qumran, there are unlikely to have been more than a few complete copies of Jubilees, and some of the manuscripts that were not complete copies may have contained shorter passages, or collections of passages from Jubilees, transmitted independently of the complete work. In addition to these manuscripts, others may be seen as evidence of the redactional process of key passages in Jubilees. These streams of transmission are reflected in the later material, and thus give us a clearer picture of the

(68) Tigchelaar, “The Qumran *Jubilees* Manuscripts,” 590–92.

transmission of different passages from Jubilees in Antiquity and the Middle Ages. While the fragmentary state of the manuscripts makes it difficult to draw firm conclusions, I hope that this analysis can open up for a renewed discussion of the purpose and use of manuscripts from a wider perspective that has traditionally been granted.

Matthew P. MONGER
MF Norwegian School of Theology,
Religion and Society

RECONSIDERING THE RELATIONSHIP(S) BETWEEN 4Q365, 4Q365A, AND THE TEMPLE SCROLL

Summary

Over the last two decades, the scrolls that are generally known as 4QRe-worked Pentateuch (4Q158; 364–367) have been major catalysts for discussions regarding the textual plurality of the Hebrew Bible. The current study focuses on 4Q365 (published as 4QRP^c) and 4Q365a, an additional five fragments, which John Strugnell had originally included as part of this scroll, but were separated off and published under the title 4QTemple(?) by Emanuel Tov and Sidnie White in DJD 13. Following a number of recent studies, and Strugnell’s original classification, it is argued here that 4Q365 and 4Q365a are fragments of the same composition, which is assigned the siglum 4Q365+. The conclusion that these two scrolls are really one raises the question of the nature of this text, and its relationship to the Pentateuch on the one hand and the Temple Scroll on the other.

A number of recent studies have suggested that 4Q365+ served as a source for the Temple Scroll. This study presents a careful textual analysis of the parallel passages in the two compositions, focusing primarily on the “wood offering” festival (4Q365 23; 11QT^a XXIII). It is suggested that the additional material in the 4Q fragment is the combination of the author’s interpretation of Neh 10:33–35 (lines 4–8) and a passage copied from 11QT (lines 9–11). 4Q365+ is therefore dependent on the Temple Scroll, and not *vice versa*.

According to this reconstruction, Lev 23 was further developed in the Temple Scroll, which then in turn reinfluenced the version of Lev 23 in 4Q365+. The implications of this conclusion on the nature of 4Q365+ are briefly discussed. The study concludes with reference to a few similar phenomenological parallels to this textual dynamic.

OVER the last two decades, the scrolls that are generally known as 4QRe-worked Pentateuch (4Q158; 364–367) have been major catalysts for discussions regarding the textual plurality of the Hebrew Bible, for questions of boundaries of categories such as biblical, scriptural and authoritative, and for analyzing the hermeneutical

techniques and approaches adopted by scribes who copied and rewrote earlier compositions. (1) These five scrolls were published in two volumes of *Discoveries in the Judean Desert*: Allegro originally published 4Q158 in DJD 5 (1968) under the title *Biblical Paraphrase: Genesis, Exodus*. (2) Emanuel Tov and Sidnie White subsequently published the four additional scrolls (4Q364–367; see below regarding 4Q365a) in DJD 13 (1993), and posited that they reflected the same composition as 4Q158, labelling them all 4QReworked Pentateuch^{a-c} (with 4Q158 as the first copy). (3) They adopted this title to refer to manuscripts that in their opinion were not Pentateuchal or biblical, but rather were beyond this category; they were therefore included in DJD 13, one of four volumes of the series devoted to parabiblical texts. In my M.A. thesis (under the direction of Emanuel Tov himself) and in a

(1) See (in alphabetical order) Moshe J. Bernstein, “What Has Happened to the Laws? The Treatment of Legal Material in 4QReworked Pentateuch,” *DSD* 15 (2008): 24–49; George J. Brooke, “4Q158: Reworked Pentateuch^b or Reworked Pentateuch A?” *DSD* 8 (2001): 219–41; Sidnie White Crawford, “The ‘Rewritten’ Bible at Qumran: A Look at Three Texts,” *Erlsr* 26 (1999): 1–8; eadem, *Rewriting Scripture in Second Temple Times* (SDSSRL; Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2008), 39–59; eadem, “The Pentateuch as Found in the Pre-Samaritan Texts and 4QReworked Pentateuch,” in *Changes in Scripture: Rewriting and Interpreting Authoritative Traditions in the Second Temple Period* (BZAW 419; ed. Hanne von Weissenberg et al.; Berlin: de Gruyter, 2011), 123–36; Daniel K. Falk, *The Parabiblical Texts: Strategies for Extending the Scriptures among the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Companion to the Qumran Scrolls/Library of Second Temple Studies 8/63; New York: T & T Clark, 2007), 107–19; Michael Segal, “Biblical Exegesis in 4Q158: Techniques and Genre,” *Text* 19 (1998): 45–62; idem, “4QReworked Pentateuch or 4QPentateuch?” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Fifty Years After Their Discovery* (eds. Lawrence H. Schiffman, Emanuel Tov, and James C. VanderKam; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 2000), 391–99; Emanuel Tov, “The Many Forms of Hebrew Scripture: Reflections in Light of the LXX and 4QReworked Pentateuch,” in *From Qumran to Aleppo: A Discussion with Emanuel Tov about the Textual History of Jewish Scriptures in Honor of his 65th Birthday* (eds. Armin Lange, Matthias Weigold, and Jozsef Zsengellér; FRLANT 230; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2009), 11–28; idem, “From 4QReworked Pentateuch to 4QPentateuch(?),” in *Authoritative Scriptures in Ancient Judaism* (ed. Mladen Popović; JSJSup 141; Leiden: Brill, 2010), 73–91; Eugene Ulrich, “The Qumran Scrolls and the Biblical Text,” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Fifty Years After Their Discovery*, 51–59; idem, *The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Developmental Composition of the Bible* (SVT 169; Leiden: Brill, 2015), 187–194; Molly M. Zahn, “The Problem of Characterizing the 4QReworked Pentateuch Manuscripts: Bible, Rewritten Bible, or None of the Above?” *DSD* 15 (2008): 315–39; eadem, *Rethinking Rewritten Scripture: Composition and Exegesis in the 4QReworked Pentateuch Manuscripts* (STDJ 95; Leiden: Brill, 2011).

(2) John M. Allegro, “158. Biblical Paraphrase: Genesis, Exodus,” in *Qumran Cave 4. I: 4Q158–4Q186* (ed. idem; DJD 5; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968), 1–6.

(3) Emanuel Tov and Sidnie White, “364–367. 4QReworked Pentateuch^{b-c} and 365a. 4QTemple^{a?}” in *Qumran Cave 4. VIII: Parabiblical Texts, Part 1* (ed. Harold Attridge et al.; DJD 13; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994), 187–352.

few articles based upon the thesis, (4) I suggested that some of these scrolls should not be viewed as parabiblical compositions, but rather as biblical texts, scribally expanded editions of the Pentateuch itself, and thus should be more appropriately labelled 4QPentateuch. In particular, I posited that the DJD 13 scrolls (4Q364–367) should be viewed as “biblical,” while 4Q158 reflected hermeneutical practices that pushed it beyond this category. As part of this claim, I argued that the five scrolls do not all contain the same composition, but rather various forms and rewritings of the Pentateuch. The minor overlaps between them were the result of the textual interdependence of some of the scrolls, but not of their identity.

Since then many scholars of textual criticism have studied this group of texts, and some of them (including the original editors) have accepted this approach, applying the category Bible/Pentateuch to them. At the same time, I too have reconsidered these texts and expressed reservations about my own clear-cut application of terms such as biblical/non-biblical. (5) Instead, I now prefer to emphasize the dynamic textual and hermeneutical processes by which these different texts were created and, when possible, to directly trace the trajectories by which they were generated. Thus, for example, in some recent studies, I have attempted to demonstrate that 4Q364, which itself is based upon a pre-Samaritan version of the Pentateuch, was then a source text for both 4Q158 and Jubilees. (6) Based on this, I concluded that 4Q364 was an authoritative text, since it was perceived as such by the authors-scribes responsible for 4Q158 and Jubilees. However, it is more difficult to determine the status of 4Q158 in the eyes of its readers, since we do not have any evidence (for the moment) of any further reuse of this work as a source text for further literary development. (7)

(4) Segal, “Biblical Exegesis in 4Q158,” 45–62; idem, “4QReworked Pentateuch or 4QPentateuch?” 391–99.

(5) In my earlier articles, I emphasized this distinction, and even suggested criteria by which to differentiate between variant literary editions (still “biblical”) and rewritten Bible texts; see Michael Segal, “Between Bible and Rewritten Bible,” in *Biblical Interpretation at Qumran* (SDSSRL; ed. Matthias Henze; Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2005), 10–28.

(6) Michael Segal, “Biblical Interpretation—Yes and No,” in *What is Bible?* (ed. Karin Finsterbusch and Armin Lange; CBET 67; Leuven: Peeters, 2012), 63–80 (70–80); idem, “The Dynamics of Composition and Rewriting in Jubilees and Pseudo-Jubilees,” *RevQ* 26/4 (2014): 555–78.

(7) *Jubilees* was rewritten in the composition known as 4Qpseudo-Jubilees^{a-b} (4Q225–226); see Segal, “Dynamics of Composition,” 555–78. As suggested there, 4Q227 is most likely a source used by *Jubilees*, and not vice versa as generally suggested. However, when the evidence of 4Q225–226 is combined with CD XVI (in addition to the high number of copies of *Jubilees* at Qumran), it seems most likely that it was indeed an authoritative work for the Qumran community.

The relationship between 4Q365 and 4Q365a

In the current article, I would like to return to a different scroll from the group, 4Q365, which was designated by Emanuel Tov and Sidnie White as 4QRP^c. This scroll was published with 38 identified fragments, spanning Genesis to Deuteronomy (in addition to another 24 “unidentified fragments”), covering the contours of the entire Pentateuch. (8) An additional five fragments, which John Strugnell had originally included as part of this scroll, were separated off and they published them as a different text, with the siglum 4Q365a. (9) The main argument for separating these five fragments from the rest of the fragments was explicitly described by the editors:

Unlike the fragments of 4Q365 (including frg. 23; ...), however, which, like the other manuscripts of 4QRP, contain a text of the Pentateuch that has been systematically reworked, these five fragments do not include any biblical material. Because of this, it is very unlikely that they belong to 4QRP. (10)

Due to the relationship between these fragments and the Temple Scroll (to be discussed below), they were instead tentatively categorized as a Cave 4 copy of the Temple Scroll (qualified by a question mark in the title). White was not the first scholar to attribute these fragments to the Temple Scroll, and she was essentially following in the footsteps of Yigael Yadin, who suggested that they reflect another copy of that composition. (11)

In contrast, Strugnell, the original editor, thought that all of the fragments—both Pentateuchal and Temple Scroll-like—were of the same scroll, as he described in a letter that he sent to Florentino García Martínez: (12)

(8) Emanuel Tov and Sidnie White, “365. 4QReworked Pentateuch^c,” in *Qumran Cave 4. VIII: Parabiblical Texts, Part 1* (ed. H. Attridge et al.; DJD 13; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994), 255–318.

(9) Sidnie White and Emanuel Tov, “365a. 4QTemple?” in *Qumran Cave 4. VIII: Parabiblical Texts, Part 1* (ed. Harold Attridge et al.; DJD 13; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994), 319–34.

(10) White and Tov, “4Q365a,” 319.

(11) Yigael Yadin, *The Temple Scroll* (3 vols.; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society et al., 1977; revised English translation, 1983), 1:8–9, 123–24; 2:44, 101–03, 172–73; see below (notes 23–26) regarding Qimron’s recent edition of the Temple Scroll, in which the 4Q365a fragments are integrated into the text of 11QT. I am indebted in the following brief summary of scholarship to Molly M. Zahn, “4QReworked Pentateuch C and the Literary Sources of the Temple Scroll: A New (Old) Proposal,” *DSD* 19 (2012): 133–58, whose own view will also be discussed below.

(12) John Strugnell, letter cited according to Florentino García Martínez, “‘The New Jerusalem’ and the Future Temple of the Manuscripts from Qumran,” in idem,

My ms. of which only a bit was published by Yadin . . . is a Middle Has-monean copy of a wildly aberrant text of the whole Pentateuch containing several non-Biblical additions, some identical with Samaritan Pentateuch pluses, others unattested elsewhere (e.g. a song of Miriam at the Red Sea).

In my earlier work on these texts, I followed Tov and White's proposed division into two scrolls, and essentially ignored the 4Q365a fragments in my study of the RP texts. However, as others have already noted, this differentiation is problematic for three reasons: (13)

- (a) The physical evidence of the two scrolls, including the scribal hand and the materials on which it was copied, are essentially the same. There is certainly no *a priori* reason to divide between them. Moreover, as noted by Hartmut Stegemann, (14) 4Q365 frag. 6 and 4Q365a frag. 2 appear to have a similar crease pattern, which is most plausibly explained based upon their common origin in a single physical scroll.
- (b) 4Q365, frag. 23 includes the end of Lev 23 (festival laws) followed by "additional" material which closely parallels the Temple Scroll (see the discussion below). Thus, removing the five fragments in 4Q365a is far from a clean incision, and leaves Temple Scroll material in 4Q365. Tov and White were sensitive to this matter in the quote above, but nevertheless included this fragment in 4QRP, due to the presence of biblical material.
- (c) The decision to remove certain fragments based upon their contents is methodologically problematic, since it establishes the character of the composition preserved in this scroll using a subjective criterion of what contents can and should go together. Instead, the fragments need to be collated and combined, and then assessed together as they are, without any *a priori* assumptions of what the final result should look like or contain.

Qumran and Apocalyptic: Studies on the Aramaic Texts from Qumran (STDJ 9; Leiden: Brill, 1992), 180 n. 1; transl. of "La 'Nueva Jerusalén' y el templo futuro en los Mss. de Qumrán," in *Salvación en la Palabra. Targum—Derash—Berith. En Memoria del profesor A. Díez Macho* (ed. D. Muñoz Leon; Madrid: Cristiandad, 1986), 563–90; see Zahn, "4QReworked Pentateuch C," 137–38.

(13) See Florentino García Martínez, "Multiple Literary Editions of the Temple Scroll?" in *Fifty Years after their Discovery: Proceedings of the Jerusalem Congress, July 20–25, 1997* (ed. Lawrence H. Schiffman, Emanuel Tov, and James C. VanderKam; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society in cooperation with The Shrine of the Book, 2000), 364–71 (369–70).

(14) As adduced by Armin Lange, *Handbuch der Textfunde vom Toten Meer*. Vol. 1: *Die Handschriften biblischer Bücher von Qumran und den anderen Fundorten* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2009), 40, based upon an unpublished lecture. This observation has been quoted subsequently by Falk, *Parabiblical Texts*, 108–09; Zahn, 140–41, and others.

In light of these considerations, it has been recognized today by many scholars that 4Q365 and 4Q365a should be reunited into one scroll. (15) In order to avoid confusion, I will refer to this scroll as 4Q365+, indicating that this was the original number of the scroll (as enumerated by Strugnell), but referring to its reunited form and not its DJD 13 contents.

The relationship between 4Q365+ and the Temple Scroll

The conclusion that these two scrolls are really one raises the highly interesting question of the nature of this text, and its relationship to the Pentateuch (in its various forms/editions) on the one hand and the Temple Scroll on the other. As mentioned above, the 38 fragments of this scroll attest to all five books of the Torah, and if one focuses on these fragments alone, we can say that it reflects a free, scribally expanded version of the Pentateuch, attesting to an interesting selection of variants, which is unsurprising in this milieu. The composition becomes much more interesting when it includes the additional fragments, the largest of which (4Q365a 2) closely parallels material in the Temple Scroll (see below). When this is assessed in concert with 4Q365 23, the festivals fragment, which also presents a clear relationship with the Temple Scroll, we are left with a fascinating, textually complex situation in which materials from different literary backgrounds have been combined in 4Q365+. (16)

This anomalous situation can be explained by one of three models:

- (a) The Temple Scroll was dependent upon 4Q365+; (17)

(15) See the more recent discussion of Sidnie White Crawford, "4QTemple? (4Q365a) Revisited," in *Prayer and Poetry in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Related Literature: Essays in Honor of Eileen Schuller on the Occasion of her 65th Birthday* (ed. Jeremy Penner, Ken Penner, and Cecilia Wassen; Leiden: Brill, 2012), 87–95, who recognizes the weight of this evidence, but still refrains from definitively combining them into one scroll, primarily due to the difficulty of locating them within the column structure of 4Q365.

(16) This situation was already considered, both before the publication of DJD 13 when they were not yet separated, and in some studies following DJD 13, by scholars who recognized that the fragments belong together.

(17) See Lange, *Handbuch*, 37–40; Zahn, "4QReworked Pentateuch C," 133–58 and the bibliography quoted in both studies. In contrast to the quote from Strugnell above, in an earlier communication (to Ben Zion Wacholder), he was less definitive of the direction of influence: "The work to which these fragments belong is not a copy of the 'Temple Scroll,' but a Pentateuch with frequent non-biblical additions; *whether they are quotations from the Temple Scroll incorporated by that Pentateuch, or vice versa (i.e. bits of an earlier 'wild' Pentateuch text used as a source by 11QT) remains to be seen*" (quoted in Ben Zion Wacholder, *The Dawn of Qumran: The Sectarian Torah and the Teacher of Righteousness* [Cincinnati, OH: Hebrew Union College, 1983], 205–06; italics mine). In a variant of this position, Michael O. Wise, *A Critical Study of the Temple Scroll from Qumran Cave 1* (SAOC 49; Chicago, IL: The Oriental Institute of

- (b) 4Q365+ has been influenced by the Temple Scroll; (18)
- (c) Both 4Q365+ and the Temple Scroll are dependent on a third, common source, which they each incorporated into their own work. (19)

All of these options have been raised at some point, the first two of them already by Strugnell in the continuation of the letter quoted above, although he clearly prefers option (a):

It is more likely that these additions were copied by 11QTemple from an expansionist text of the Pentateuch rather than that my biblical scroll incorporated excerpts from the Temple Scroll.

More recently, in a 2012 study of 4Q365+ (which she labels 4QRP C), Molly Zahn similarly concluded: (20)

Substantial parallels between 4QRP C (both 4Q365 and 4Q365a) and the Temple Scroll raise the possibility that an expanded Pentateuch resembling 4QRP C could have constituted the main source with which the Temple Scroll's redactor worked.

Much of their argumentation for the direction of development is tied up in larger questions of scribal hermeneutical practices and techniques of rewriting the Bible, both of biblical textual witnesses and of the Temple Scroll. Molly Zahn, for example, seems to prefer a more incremental process of textual growth for the Temple Scroll as a whole, instead of various source critical approaches that have been offered to explain the development of that work. 4Q365+ thus offers a convenient intermediate textual stage for this incremental growth.

Alternatively, if one assumes, as do many scholars of the Temple Scroll, that it is the redacted product of various sources, then the analysis of 4Q365+ should arrive at the opposite conclusion. As will be discussed below, the two parallel passages between 4Q365+ and the Temple Scroll are: (i) a description of the courts of the Temple (4Q365a 2; 11QT^a XXXVIII–XLI); and (ii) the “wood offering” festival (4Q365 23; 11QT^a XXIII). The passages appear in different sources according to the redactional models proposed for the Temple Scroll, the first in an extended document describing the Temple precincts

the University of Chicago, 1990), 44–60, posited that the 4Q fragments were a source for the redactor of 11QT, but not a variant biblical text.

(18) Wacholder, *The Dawn of Qumran*, 206 (see also the quote from Strugnell in n. 17).

(19) This possibility has been raised recently by White Crawford, “4QTemple? (4Q365a) Revisited,” 94, alongside the option that 4Q365+ served as a source for the Temple Scroll.

(20) Zahn, “4QReworked Pentateuch C,” 133 (abstract).

(cols. II–XIII, XXX–XLVII), and the second in a document describing the calendar and Festivals (cols. XIII–XXX). (21) If the source-critical division is correct, then it is almost certain that 4Q365+ has borrowed here from the redacted form of the Temple Scroll, in which the sources were already combined. If 4Q365+ was in fact a/the source for the Temple Scroll, it is very difficult to imagine a scenario in which material from two separate sources was preserved together in 4Q365+. (22)

Both of these approaches assume a certain model for the formation of the Temple Scroll (based upon independent considerations that are beyond the scope of this study), and then proceed to assess the relationship vis-à-vis 4Q365+ in light of this question. However, instead of beginning with a theoretical model, I would like to focus my analysis on the texts themselves, in order to see if there is any internal evidence that helps illuminate this process.

The Temple Precincts

As noted above there are two relevant fragments for discussion here: 4Q365a 2 and 4Q365 23. 4Q365a 2 is by far the closest in its content and language to that of the Temple Scroll, with the following parallels:

4Q365a	Temple Scroll (23)
Frag. 2, col. i, lines 1–10	11QT ^a XXXVIII 4–15
Frag. 2, col. ii, 1–7	11QT ^a XLI 4–17
Frag. 2, col. ii, 8–12	11QT ^a XLII init (?)

(21) Scholars have suggested various source-critical divisions and models for the development of the Temple Scroll, and they are too numerous (and complex) to summarize here. At the same time, there is general agreement among those who have suggested such divisions that these two sections originate in different sources: see e.g., Andrew M. Wilson and Lawrence Wills, “Literary Sources of the Temple Scroll,” *HTR* 75 (1982): 275–88; Wise, *A Critical Study*; Lawrence H. Schiffman, *The Courtyards of the House of the Lord: Studies on the Temple Scroll* (ed. Florentino García Martínez; STDJ 75; Leiden: Brill, 2008), 4–5 and passim.

(22) Surprisingly, there are scholars who follow the documentary approach to the Temple Scroll, yet still assume that 4Q365+ was one of its sources. These two positions seem to me to be inconsistent with one another.

(23) The parallels are presented here according to the edition of Elisha Qimron, “The Temple Scroll,” in idem, *The Dead Sea Scrolls: The Hebrew Writings* (3 vols.; Between Bible and Mishnah; Jerusalem: Yad Ben-Zvi, 2010–2014), 1:177–180. In Qimron’s edition, the 4Q fragment has been integrated into the running text of 11QT^a, which further highlights the parallels between the two texts.

As can be seen from this chart, the correspondence between the two scrolls is extensive, with frag. 2, col. i overlapping with most of column 38 of the Temple Scroll, and col. ii with most of column 41 (and the beginning of column 42) of 11QT^a. This overlap is even greater than originally realized (in DJD 13), since Qimron was able to decipher more of 11QT^a 38, and integrate all of 4Q365a, frag. 2, col. i into his reconstruction. (24) Col. 38 continues the previous columns' description of the "inner court (הצר הפנימית)" of the Temple, through line 10, and the details regarding the specific locations in which the priests were supposed to eat the first produce and other offerings. Following a blank line (11), 38:12 begins the description of dimensions of the surrounding "middle court," which continues until 40:4. Column 40:5 begins the section on the "third court," which surrounds the "middle court," a topic that continues until the top of col. 45. As noted by the DJD editors, it is not possible to reconstruct columns 39–40 of the Temple Scroll in between the end of the preserved lines in frag. 2, col. i and the beginning of the preserved passage of col. ii, so the text in the Cave 4 fragments must have been significantly shorter than that in 11QT^a. Based upon the preserved contents of 4Q365a 2 i–ii, it contained an account of all three courts, although the description of the middle court must have been significantly shorter. (25) Moreover, as Tov and White, as well as Elisha Qimron, have demonstrated, the text of the 4Q365a 2 i must have been shorter in specific rows as well. White already noted this for 38:14–15, which are almost double the length of 4Q365a 2 i 10. (26)

11QTemple^a 38

13 ואורך לרוח הקדם שמונים וארבע מאות באמה וכזה רוחב ואורך לכל
 14 רוחותיה לנגב ולים ולצפון ורוחב קירה [ארבע] אמות וגובה שמונה
 15 ועשרים באמה ותאים עשויים לקיר מחוץ ובין התאו לתאו שלוש

4Q365a 2 i

באמה ואורך לרוח] 8
אורך לכל רוחותיה] 9
בין תו לתו שלוש אמות וחצי] 10

(24) According to White and Tov, "4Q365a," 320, the parallel is limited to 4Q365a 2 (7)8–10 || 11QT^a XXXVIII (11)12–15. However, Qimron was able to successfully read a number of additional lines, which allow for a more extensive comparison.

(25) This might be the case with the inner and outer courts as well, but we are limited in our knowledge due to the fragmentary remains.

(26) Tov and White, "4Q365a," 325. Qimron, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 1:177, notes this and the similar situation with reference to 11QT^a 38:6,9.

I have underlined the overlapping words from 4Q365a 2 on the text of 11QT^a. When comparing the distances between them on 11QT^a, there is clearly more text between the beginning of line 14 and the end of line 15 in 11QT^a than can fit at the beginning of 4Q365a 2 i 10. The easiest solution is probably to assume that the words underlined by a wave in lines 14–15, regarding the width and the height of the wall, were absent from 4Q365a. In the parallel texts of Temple Scroll col. 41 and 4Q365a ii, the differences between them are relatively minor, and do not differ as much as they do in the earlier column.

A number of options exist for explaining the relationship between the short and long versions of the descriptions of the Temple courts: the long could be an expansion of the short version; the short version an abridgement of the longer one; or both reworked a third, theoretical source. However, there does not seem to be any apparent, inherent reason to prefer one of these explanations over the others. Although one can offer an educated guess about which parts of 11QT^a cols. 39–40 were absent in 4Q365a 2 i, this does not go beyond the realm of speculation.

(3.2) *The Wood Festival*

More instructive, perhaps, is 4Q365 23, the festivals fragment already alluded to above. The text is as follows: (27)

- | | |
|----|--|
| 1 | [בסוֹן] כֹּת תִּשְׁבוּ שִׁבְעַת יָמִים כֹּל הָאֹרֶחַ בְּיִשְׂרָאֵל יֵשֵׁב בְּסוּכוֹת לְמַעַן יִדְעוּ דְּוָרֹתֵיכֶם |
| 2 | כִּן [בסוֹן] כֹּת הוֹשֵׁבֵתִי אֶת אֲבוֹתֵיכֶם בְּהוֹצִיאִי אוֹתָם מֵאֶרֶץ מִצְרַיִם אֲנִי יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵיכֶם |
| 3 | ידבר מושה את מועדי יהוה אל בני ישראל vacat |
| 4 | ידבר יהוה אל מושה לאמור צו את בני ישראל לאמור בבואכם אל הארץ אשר |
| 5 | [א] נֹכִי נֹתֵן לָכֶם לִנְחֻלָּה וּשְׁבַתָם עֲלֶיהָ לְבַטַּח תִּקְרִיבוּ עֲ[שׁ] לַעֲוֹלָה וּלְכֹל מִלְּאֲכָ[ת] |
| 6 | [הב] יֵת אֲשֶׁר תִּבְנוּ לִי בָאֶרֶץ לְעֶרֶךְ אוֹתָם עַל מִזְבֵּחַ הָעֹלָה [לת] הֵת הָעֹלָה[ן] תִּ (28) |
| 7 | [לזבחה] יֵם (29) לְפִסְחִים וּלְשִׁלְמִים וּלְתוֹדוֹת וּלְנִדְבוֹת וּלְעֹלוֹת דָּבָר יוֹם בְּיוֹמוֹ |
| 8 | [] לֵ[] לֵ[] מִיָּמִים וּלְמַ[נ] הֵת (30) וּלְכֹל מִלְּאֲכַת הַבַּיִת יִקְרָא בּוֹ |
| 9 | [] מִ[] וְעַד הִצְהַר יִקְרִיבוּ אֶת הָעֲצִים שְׁנִים שְׁנִים |
| 10 | [] וְהִי[] (31) הַמִּקְרִיבִים בְּיוֹם הָרִישׁ[ן] לִי וְ |
| 11 | [] רִאוּ בֶן וְשִׁמְעוֹן וּבְיָוִם הָרִבְ[יעִי] |

(27) The text is presented here according to Qimron, *Dead Sea Scrolls*, 3:121. Significant differences in details of readings from Tov and White, “4Q365,” 290–91, are noted in the footnotes. The English translation (starting in line 4, after the parallel to Lev 23) is based upon Tov and White, “4Q365,” 292–93, with adjustments according to the new readings identified by Qimron.

(28) Tov and White, “4Q365,” 291 read אֶת הָעֹלָה[ן] יֵם.

(29) Tov and White, “4Q365,” 291, do not reconstruct this term.

(30) Tov and White, “4Q365,” 291, read וְלִ[ת] הֵת.

(31) Tov and White, “4Q365,” 291, read יָוִם[] .

- 4 And the Lord said to Moses (saying), command the Israelites (saying):
when you come to the land which
- 5 I am giving to you for an inheritance, and you dwell upon it securely, you
will bring wood for a burnt offering and for all the wo[r]k of
- 6 [the H]ouse which you will build for me in the land, to arrange it upon
the altar of burnt-offering, [und]erneath the burnt-offe[ri]ngs,
- 7 for sacrific[es], for passover sacrifices, and for whole burnt-offerings, and
for thank offerings, and for free-will offerings, and for burnt-offerings,
daily [
- 8] and for the offerings and for all the work of the House the[y]
shall br[ing]
- 9] the [f]estival of (new) oil they will bring wood two [at a time
10 and] the ones who bring on the fir[s]t day, Levi [
11 Reu]ben and Simeon; [and on t]he fou[rth] day [

Lines 1–3 contain Lev 23:42–44, the final verses of the biblical festival calendar in all of the extant textual witnesses. Lines 4 and on open a new passage, not attested in any other version, (32) which provides legal details of the wood offering. This passage is once again of relevance to our discussion since the addition here displays clear parallels to a passage from the Temple Scroll, col. XXIII, attested in both 11QTemple^{a,b}. In line 9, there is mention of the “[f]estival of (new) oil (מִן הַיַּצְהָר),” which is described extensively in the Temple Scroll, cols. XXI–XXIII. As will be seen below, the presence of the expression מוֹעֵד הַיַּצְהָר will be crucial for determining the direction of development between the Temple Scroll and 4Q365+.

As many scholars have noted, there is no wood offering in the Torah, but a קָרְבַּן הָעֵצִים (33) is mentioned in Neh 10:35; 13:31 as being brought at set times (עֵתִים מְזֻמְנִים/מוֹזְמָנוֹת) throughout the year. In the

(32) Contrast Tov and White, “4Q365,” 290, which records the contents as if line 4 contains Lev 24:1–2a.

(33) Werman (Cana Werman, “The Wood-Offering: The Convolved Evolution of a Halakhah in Qumran and Rabbinic Law,” in *New Perspectives on Old Texts: Proceedings of the Tenth International Symposium of the Orion Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associated Literature*, 9–11 January, 2005 [ed. Esther Chazon et al.; STDJ 88; Leiden: Brill, 2010], 151–81 [152–54]) has suggested the possibility that the use of the term קָרְבַּן hearkens back to an earlier legal stage, in which the wood “was an offering in and of itself, an independent gift ... meant to be burnt separately upon the altar.” She suggests that at this putative earlier stage, the wood was treated in a similar way to the first-fruits mentioned in v. 36. However, in the current formulation of v. 35, the wood is intended specifically as a flammable agent for the altar. More importantly, the term קָרְבַּן in biblical Hebrew does not necessarily refer to an offering that was burned upon the altar; rather, any kind of offering brought to the Temple precinct would qualify. Thus, for example, Num 31:50 describes the gold brought to the Tent of Meeting from the Midianite booty as “an offering (קָרְבַּן) to the Lord”, even though it certainly does not describe a sacrifice.

former, it was part of the **אמנה** (pledge/covenant) that the people took upon themselves to observe:

וְהַגִּדְלוֹת הַפִּלְגִּי עַל-קֶרְבֶּן הָעֲצִים הַכֹּהֲנִים הַלְוִיִּם וְהָעָם לְהָבִיא לְבֵית אֱלֹהֵינוּ לְבֵית
אֲבֹתֵינוּ לְעֵתִים מְזֻמָּנִים שָׁנָה בְּשָׁנָה לְבַעַר עַל-מִזְבֵּחַ יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ כְּכָתוּב בַּתּוֹרָה:

We have cast lots [among] the priests, the Levites, and the people, *to bring the wood offering to the House of our God by clans annually at set times* in order to provide fuel for the altar of the LORD our God, as is written in the **תורה**.

The “set times” at which the wood was brought are not explicated; presumably this was done throughout the year in order to ensure a constant supply of kindling for the altar. More troubling to commentators was the phrase at the end of the verse, **כְּכָתוּב בַּתּוֹרָה**, “as is written in the **תורה**,” since as already noted there is no such law included in any known version of the Pentateuch. It is suggestive that 4Q365 23 fills precisely this lacuna, since this would supply a Pentateuchal source for the reference in Neh 10:35. If one assumes that there is a relationship between Neh 10:35 and the Qumran fragment, then it could theoretically be the “missing” source for the reference in Nehemiah, with the latter in fact dependent upon this variant version of Lev 23. (34) More likely, in my opinion, if one assumes a relationship between the texts, is that the passage was added to provide the supposed missing source, which in fact was never really missing. (35)

Is there any internal evidence from the texts themselves regarding the direction of development? In contrast to the case of the middle court of the Temple, I suggest that regarding the wood festival we do in fact have internal evidence for the process by which the texts developed. Returning to 4Q365 23, the topic of lines 4–11 as a whole is the “wood festival.” However, within this description, we can divide between two different sections. Line 4 opens with God commanding Moses to speak to the Israelites, with a quote of the direct speech, referring to the bringing of wood for use in the Temple. The wood is designated for two

(34) As suggested by, e.g., Jacob Milgrom, “Qumran’s Biblical Hermeneutics: The Case of the Wood Offering,” *RevQ* 16/3 (1994): 449–56 (454–56).

(35) This argument would be similar to the primary characteristic of the (pre-) Samaritan Pentateuch, in which sources and quotations were mutually supplied; see Michael Segal, “The Text of the Hebrew Bible in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls,” *Materia Giudaica* 12/1–2 (2007): 5–20 (10–17). For additional cases in which the expression **כְּכָתוּב בַּתּוֹרָה** (or similar formulae) appears in late biblical books and do not fully align with extant Pentateuchal law, cf. Judson R. Shaver, *Torah and the Chronicler’s History Work: An Inquiry into the Chronicler’s References to Laws, Festivals, and Cultic Institutions in Relationship to Pentateuchal Legislation* (BJS 196; Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, 1989).

different purposes: (1) to serve as fuel in order to burn the various sacrifices לעולה ... לערוך אותם על מזבח העולה [לת]חת העֹל[ו]תָּ... [לזבח]יָם) (לפסחים ושלמים ולתֹדֹת ולגִּדְבוֹת ולעֹלוֹת דָּבָר יוֹם] ביומן] לעולה ולכול מלאַכְ[ת ה]ב[ית אשר תבנו לי בארצ ... (lines 5–8). The combination of the two in the context of the “wood offering” seems to emerge from a specific reading of Neh 10:33–35. (36) These verses, which appear in the *'amanah* endorsed by the leadership in Yehud, refers to two separate obligations. Verses 33–34 describe the obligation of each individual to contribute 1/3 of a shekel לעבדת בית אלהינו “for the service of the House of our God” (v. 33). (37) This is then delineated in the next verse primarily for sacrifices, but also for כל מלאכת בית אלהינו “all the work of the House of our God” (v. 34). The phrase (כל) מלאכת (ה)בית (ה)אלהים appears elsewhere in Ezra–Nehemiah–Chronicles, (38) in reference to the general functioning and upkeep of the Temple, and here probably also describes the funds needed for the Temple maintenance. The following verse (v. 35) refers to a different topic, the wood offering, which was brought at various points throughout the year, specifically for the purpose of providing a burning agent for sacrifices on the altar. The obligations (1/3 shekel v. wood) and their use (paying for sacrificial provisions and maintenance v. fuel) are clearly differentiated in these verses. However, in 4Q365 23 this clear division is blurred and the wood offering was provided both for the fire on the altar and for use in all “work in the Temple.” This can be demonstrated by the inclusion of the language of vv. 34–35 within the description of the wood offering in 4Q365:

4Q365, frg. 23	Nehemiah 10
5: תקריבו עֹלָה {שֶׁ}יָם 8: יקרִי[בו]יָם	35: קרבן העצים
5: לעולה 6: [לת]חת העֹל[ו]תָּ 7: ולעולות דָּבָר יוֹם] ביומן]	34: ולעולת התמיד

(36) Sidnie White Crawford and Christopher A. Hoffmann, “A Note on 4Q365, frg. 23 and Nehemiah 10:33–36,” *RevQ* 23/3 (2008): 429–30, briefly describe some of the parallels between the Neh 10 and 4Q365 23.

(37) The expression *עבודת בית ה'* can include both sacrificial service (e.g. 1 Chr 23:24, 28,32; 2 Chr 29:35) and the building and/or upkeep of the Temple (e.g. 1 Chr 29:7; 2 Chr 24:12), and is therefore an appropriate summary of both aspects that appear in v. 34.

(38) See Ezra 3:8; 6:22; Neh 11:22; 1 Chr 23:4.

4Q365, frg. 23	Nehemiah 10
5–6: ולכול מלאכ[ת הב]ית 8: ולכול מלאכת הבית	34: וכל מלאכת בית אלהינו
7: לפסחים	34: (39) למועדים
7: ולשלמים ולתודות ולנדבות	34: (40) ולקדשים
8: ולמ[נ]חות	34: ומנחת התמיד

The author of the addition in 4Q365 23, lines 4–8 thus reads vv. 34–35 as one unit, (41) and this part of the expansion clearly hearkens back to the passage in Neh 10. This section has no direct literary parallel in the Temple Scroll, beyond the presence of the wood offering itself. It therefore seems to me that these lines were written to relate to the exegetical issue described above, concerning the lack of a biblical source text for the **ככתוב בתורה** of Neh 10:35. However, this exegetical tradition, which secondarily connects v. 34 to 35, was therefore almost certainly composed after the existence of the Nehemiah passage, in order to provide a source for the quotation (and not that it actually served as the proof-text to which the author of the Nehemiah passage referred.)

Lines 9–11 contain the direct literary parallel to the Temple Scroll, col. XXIII, partially attested in both 11QTemple^{a,b}. This passage in the Temple Scroll describes the rituals associated with the wood offering festival, with particular emphasis regarding the order of the offerings by representatives of each of the tribes. On each day, two tribes offer a whole-burnt offering (**עולה**), in the following order (11Q19 XXIV, 10–16; 11Q20 VI, 12–15):

Day 1: Levi—Judah
 Day 2: Benjamin—Joseph (Ephraim and Manassah)
 Day 3: Reuben—Simeon
 Day 4: Issachar—Zebulun
 Day 5: Gad—Asher
 Day 6: [Dan]—Naphtali

(39) While this term perhaps referred in its original context to the extra festal sacrifice (**קרבן מוסף**; see Num 28), it was perhaps interpreted to include the unique Passover offering as well.

(40) This assumes that the term **קדשים** “consecrations” was interpreted generally to refer to various sacrifices.

(41) See Werman, “The Wood-Offering,” 157–58. It is unclear how this scribe viewed the relationship between v. 33 and v. 34; was the one-third shekel contribution in v. 33 intended for the list of items in v. 34? If so, then the latter verse has a double function, read both with its preceding and subsequent verse. If not, then it is unclear to what **לעבדת בית אלהינו** in v. 33 refers.

This order corresponds to lines 10–11 in the 4Q365 fragment, which preserves Levi's offering on Day 1, and Reuben and Simeon on Day 3. Moreover, there is textual overlap between 4Q365 23 9–11 on the one hand and 11Q20 VI 12–15 and 11Q19 XXIII 1–2 on the other. The following combination of the three sources in Qimron's edition of the Temple Scroll, col. XXIII, demonstrates this overlap. (42)

11Q20 VI 9–15

4Q365 23 9–11

11Q19 XXIII 1–2

- | | | |
|----|---|----|
| 9 | כֹּל [ב]ִּישְׂרָאֵל בְּכֹלֵן מוֹשְׁבוֹתֶיהֶמָּה לִפְנֵי יְהוָה חֹק עֹלָם לְדוֹרוֹתֶיהֶמָּה | 10 |
| 10 | [| 11 |
| 11 | וְאַחֲרָיִם מִן־עֹד הַיִּצְהָר יִקְרִיבוּ | 12 |
| 12 | לְמִזְבֵּחַ אֵת הָעֲצִים שְׁנֵים עָשָׂר מִטּוֹת בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל וְיִהְיוּ הַמְּקַרְבִּים בַּיּוֹם הָרִישוֹן | 13 |
| 13 | מִטּוֹת לֵוי וְיְהוּדָה וּבְנֵי שְׁנֵי מִטּוֹת בְּנִימִן וּבְנֵי | 1 |
| 1 | יוֹסֵף וּבְנֵי הַשְּׁלִישִׁי רָאוּבֵן וְשִׁמְעוֹן וּבְנֵי הָרְבִיעִי יִשְׁשָׁכָר | 2 |
| 2 | וְ[ו]בְנֵי הַחֲמִישִׁי גָד וְאַשֶׁר וּבְנֵי הַשִּׁשִּׁי דָן וְנַפְתָּלִי | |
- 9 all of the Israeli[t]es, in all [of their dwelling places]
- 10 []
- 11 [And after the f]estival of the (new) oil, they shall bring,
- 12 to the altar, the wood the tw[elve tribes of the Israelites, And] the
- 13 ones who bring on the fir[s]t day
- 1 the tribes of Levi and Judah; and on [the second day Benjamin and
- 2 the sons of]
- 1 [Joseph, and on the third day Reu]ben and Simeon; and on the fourth
- day Issachar
- 2 [and Ze]bulun; and [on the fifth day Gad and] Asher; on the [sixth]
- da[y Dan] and Naphtali

This too could reflect interpretation of Neh 10:35: both with respect to the primary position given to the tribe of Levi (according to the order of הַלְוִיִּם הָרִאשִׁים), and the establishment of the six-day

(42) The composite text here closely follows Qimron, *Dead Sea Scrolls*, 1:162, with minor variations. The line numbers follow the two copies of the Temple Scroll (as in Qimron's edition): lines 9–13 are according to 11Q20, followed by lines 1–2 according to 11Q19. Due to the limitations of typesetting, I have marked the primary source for each letter/word using the notations above, but not overlaps between manuscripts. Overlaps between 4Q365 and 11Q20 can be found in line 12, the final *mem* of the third word; line 13, the initial *waw* of the third word; line 1, in the third and second-to-last words (יום הרב). An overlap between 4Q365 and 11Q19 is found in line 1, in the *šin* and *mem* of the name Simeon. The English translation employs the DJD edition of 11Q20: Florentino García Martínez, Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar, and Adam S. van der Woude, *Qumran Cave 11. II: 11Q20–18, 11Q20–31* (DJD 23; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), 382, as its basis, adjusted here according to the column structure of 11Q19 and minor differences in formulation.

festival for the offering of the wood (perhaps reflecting לעתים מזמנים). However, these are much less certain than the interpretive elements in lines 4–8.

Having established the literary connection between the Temple Scroll and 4Q365 23 9–11, we can return to the question of the direction of development between them. It seems to me that this can be answered with relative confidence, based upon the language and location of the passage in each of its contexts. In the Temple Scroll, the wood festival passage is part of a much broader section of festivals. (43) This larger section follows a clear logic, and progresses chronologically from the beginning of the year until its end, each festival appearing in sequential order according to the calendar year. This begins in col. XIV with the offerings brought on the 1st of the 1st month (Nisan) and continues through the *Pesaḥ* (col. XVII), *Maṣṣôṭ* (col. XVII–XVIII), and then the First-fruits festivals (cols. XVIII–XXIII). As is well known, in contrast to the festal laws in the Pentateuch, in which there is only one first-fruits festival that takes place seven weeks after the waving-of-the-sheath ceremony, in the Temple Scroll we find three such days, separated from one another by seven-week periods. Each of these days celebrates the new harvest of a different category of food: grain (as in Lev 23:9–22; Num 28:26–31; Deut 16:9–12), wine, and oil. The day celebrating the new oil, מועד השמן/היצהר, takes place on the twenty-second of the sixth month (Elul). (44) Immediately after the new oil festival, the Temple Scroll moves to the six days of wood offerings (cols. XXIII–XXV), which take place after the new oil celebration and prior to the next festival, יום זכרון תרועה on the first of the seventh month, parallel to the law in Lev 23:24–25. The section then reaches its end with *Yom Kippur* (XXV–XXVII), *Sukkot* (XXVII–XXIX) and a concluding summation (beginning in XXIX 2). The entire section has a clear, logical structure. In fact, many scholars view this section as an independent source that was incorporated into the Temple Scroll, since it can be read independently from beginning to end. (45)

Within this structure, scholars have reconstructed the transition from the מועד היצהר to the קרבן העצים [מועד/ימי] according to the text of 4Q365 23, line 9, quoted above: (46) מועד היצהר יקריבו את העצים

(43) See also the brief overview of the festival calendar in 11QT^a XI, which corresponds to the order of the longer section.

(44) See especially 4Q394 1–2 V 3–7 (quoted below). The term מועד היצהר is found in 4Q365 23 9; 11QT^a XI 12; and 4Q324d 6 3. See the helpful summary calendar provided by Yadin, *The Temple Scroll*, 1:118.

(45) See, e.g., the scholars mentioned in n. 21 above.

(46) 11Q19 and 11Q20 preserve remains of the subsequent lines, but not of this transition. Due to the overlap noted above, we are justified in using 4Q365 23 to reconstruct the opening line.

[מ]לְעֹד הַיֵּצֶהר “the [f]estival of (new)oil they will bring wood two [at a time]”. The simplest reconstruction for this text is to read הַיֵּצֶהר as part of an adverbial clause, and in light of the structure proposed above, the text likely read something similar to וְאַחֲרֵי מַלְעֹד הַיֵּצֶהר “and after the festival of (new) oil,” indicating the temporal relationship between them, as already reconstructed by some scholars. (47) Support for such a reconstruction can be adduced from a Qumran Cave 4 calendrical text, 4Q394, preserved as part of a copy of 4QMMT, which reads as follows:

4Q394 1–2 v 3–9: (48)

בַּעֲשָׂרִים / וּשְׁנַיִם / בּו מוֹעֵד / הַשֶּׁמֶן / אַחֲרֵי הַשָּׁבָת / אַחֲרֵי קִרְבָּן הָעֲצִים]

The twenty-second of it (the sixth month) the Festival of the (New) Oil, on the day af[ter the Sab]bath (= Sunday). Af[ter it] is [the Wood] Offer[ing...]

The chronological order explains why the מוֹעֵד הַיֵּצֶהר is mentioned explicitly in the opening of the wood festival legislation, since it serves to anchor it chronologically. (49)

Returning to 4Q365 23 9–11, these three lines closely parallel 11QT^{a,b}, but there are two aspects of its context, which demonstrate that it is secondary vis-à-vis the Temple Scroll: (a) the mention of מוֹעֵד הַיֵּצֶהר in line 9 seems foreign to this passage. The wood festival law follows Lev 23 in this fragment, but there was no discussion or mention of the oil festival prior to this either in Lev 23 or in the previous lines of this fragment. (b) The description of the wood festival also does not make sense chronologically in the structure of Lev 23, since it follows after the law of *Sukkot*, the final festival mentioned in the chapter. The appropriate place should be prior to the day of זִכְרון תְּרוּעָה (Lev 23:23–25),

(47) Yadin, *Temple Scroll*, 1:123; García Martínez et al., *DJD* 23, 381–382; Qimron, *Dead Sea Scrolls*, 1:162.

(48) The text and translation are according to Elisha Qimron and John Strugnell, *Qumran Cave 4. V: Miḡsat Ma'ase ha-Torah* (DJD 10; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994), 44–45. Additional corroborating evidence can be adduced from the summary calendar in 11QT^a XI 12(–13): [קִרְבָּן הָעֲצִים] יְמֵי [וּבִשְׁתִּי וְהַיֵּצֶהר וּבְמוֹעֵד הַיֵּצֶהר]. Although the temporal relationship between the two is not expressed, the list in general presents the various festal days in chronological order, and *a priori* this would seem to be the case here too. Similarly, the additional gloss describing the wood offerings in 4Q324d III, as recently identified by Eshbal Ratzon and Jonathan Ben-Dov, “A Newly Reconstructed Calendrical Scroll from Qumran in Cryptic Script,” *JBL* 136/4 (2017): 905–36 (921–22, 933–34), similarly locates them right after the festival of new oil.

(49) In contrast to Tov and White, “364–367. 4QReworked Pentateuch^{b-c},” 295, 4Q365 23 does not address the law of the new oil festival, but rather only mentions it in order to anchor the date of the subsequent wood festival.

as in 11QTemple. Of course the insertion almost certainly took place at the end of the chapter because it was added to an already extant literary unit. However, if it was first added to Lev 23, and then moved into the Temple Scroll, then it would have made better sense to insert it in its chronologically appropriate location (and as just noted, anchoring it to the new oil festival does not help in accomplishing this). (50)

In light of the clear structure of the festival ritual laws in the Temple Scroll, and the difficulties inherent in the order of presentation in 4Q365 23, it seems most likely based upon this internal evidence that lines 9–11 of this fragment were copied from the Temple Scroll. This also offers an explanation for the mention of the “festival of (new) oil” in 4Q365 23, 9. At the same time, there is not enough space in 11QTemple^b in order to reconstruct 4Q365, frg. 23, lines 4–8 in that copy of the composition, and therefore, it seems likely to me that those lines (4–8) were not copied from the Temple Scroll, but were perhaps the work of the scribe responsible for the addition. (51) This conclusion leads to the following proposed literary development: (1) The Festival laws in the Pentateuch, including but not limited to Lev 23; (2) The Festival Calendar in the Temple Scroll was composed based upon the laws of the Pentateuch (esp. Lev 23), in addition to other biblical source texts. Most prominent in the case of the wood offering is Neh 10:35. (3) The scribe responsible for the addition in of 4Q365 23 then incorporated the text from the Temple Scroll back into the context of the festival calendar of Lev 23. This was not, however, a simple job of “cut and paste”, but the Temple Scroll passage was introduced by a new introductory section (lines 4–8) which offered a brief overview of the functions and purpose of the wood offering, while providing a source text for Neh 10:35. The scribal process by which this fragment was created took place over a number of stages, with a combination of original material and copying from a source text.

This proposed literary process allows us to answer the question proposed above regarding the direction of development—from the Temple Scroll to 4Q365+, and not the reverse route. (52) This conclusion

(50) Milgrom, “Qumran’s Biblical Hermeneutics,” 452–55, noted the chronological displacements in the chapter (in particular about the wood festival), but connected this to “a Qumran polemic against prevailing practice” (p. 453). The relationship between this polemic (which perhaps can be demonstrated from other sources, primarily the Temple Scroll) and this particular exegetical issue seems somewhat forced.

(51) They could theoretically come from a different edition of the Temple Scroll, but there is no evidence for this claim. Alternatively, they could have been copied from a third composition, but this too lacks any evidence.

(52) The current analysis thus concurs with the general approach suggested by Wacholder (above, n. 18), based here upon a close analysis of the textual evidence.

has important implications both for the discussion of the literary processes by which these works developed and for understanding the character of the work preserved in 4Q365+. Regarding the former, these works provide evidence for the broad range of scribal and literary phenomena at work in the creation of new works based upon earlier texts. These are dynamic processes that do not follow any set paths (e.g., “gradual” expansions; “documentary” model), and when textual evidence is provided for the relationship between them, it often leads to surprising conclusions. The specific case discussed here can be described as a “boomerang” effect. (53) Lev 23 was rewritten and expanded in the Temple Scroll, and that in turn influenced the version of Lev 23 found in 4Q365+. If this multi-stage process is at work here, then it also helps assess the character of the scroll. If 4Q365+ includes passages from the Temple Scroll, which itself is generally referred to as *Rewritten Bible/Scripture*, then it is even further removed than what we generally label as “biblical.” While I am no longer as definitive as I was previously in my use of this category, the statement still holds true in relative terms, and if we examine the *Reworked Pentateuch* texts as a group, then 4Q365+ is certainly more “reworked” than 4Q364, which in my opinion, should be conceived of as a copy of the Pentateuch. We can still debate, however, how far this category should be expanded, and how the processes described here affect the assessment of 4Q365+ in this regard. Furthermore, the final two stages of the process involve the Temple Scroll and its influence on 4Q365+. Since the former is generally classified as a sectarian or proto-sectarian work, this demonstrates that the literary process of reworking and rewriting crossed sociological lines, and was not limited to any one group. Therefore, the study of the development of these specific texts should be studied in concert with other examples of ancient Jewish scribal activity, as discussed in the following section.

Phenomenological parallels in terms of the textual dynamics

The process described above, the “boomerang” effect (or what Talmud scholars sometimes refer to as רצוא ושוב [Ezek 1:14]), is not unique to this example, and I have analyzed a number of phenomenologically similar examples in some of my previous research:

(a) Old Greek and Theodotion in Daniel 5–6: These chapters are part of a longer section in Daniel (starting in chapter 3 or 4) in which

(53) This process was described and labelled by Yair Zakovitch, “The Book of the Covenant Interprets the Book of the Covenant: The ‘Boomerang Phenomenon,’” in *Texts, Temples, and Traditions: A Tribute to Menahem Haran* (ed. Michael V. Fox et al.; Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1996), 59*–64* (Hebrew).

one can identify large-scale differences between MT/Theod on the one hand and the Old Greek on the other. In three cases (Chapter 5: OG Preface; Chapter 6: “a law of Persia and Media that cannot be abrogated”; the number of Daniel’s opponents), (54) I have attempted to demonstrate that the Old Greek reflects two strata. The reconstructed original stratum (*OG) reflects the earliest version of the story, which was then rewritten/changed in the MT/Theod edition of the story. The updated version in MT/Theod in turn influenced the transmission of the text of OG, so that this Greek text was harmonized with the contents of the later edition (probably through the medium of the Greek translation attributed to Theodotion).

(b) 2 Sam 24/1 Chr 21: (55) I suggest that a similar process can possibly be identified in 4QSam^a to 2 Sam 24. This passage parallels 1 Chronicles 21, and both describe the same events: the punishment of pestilence brought upon Israel as the result of David’s census of the nation, the potential destruction of Jerusalem by God’s angel, and the building of an altar and the purchase of the threshing floor of Araunah/Ornan the Jebusite. The Samuel passage appears to be comprised of more than one source, whose combination led to a number of interpretive difficulties that have been subsequently solved by the Chronicles passage. (56) Alexander Rofé has suggested, in light of his analysis of the angelology of Chronicles (citing the lack of such divine beings throughout almost the entire book), that the emphasis on the angel in 1 Chr 21 (it is mentioned nine times as opposed to five in the MT of 2 Sam 24), demonstrates that the author of 1 Chr 21 was not the Chronicler, but rather, the additional instances of the angel must have already been found in a witness of 2Sam 24 adopted by the editor of Chronicles. He later found confirmation for this suggestion in 4QSam^a,

(54) See Michael Segal, “The Old Greek Version and Masoretic Text of Daniel 6,” in *Die Septuaginta: Orte und Intentionen. Proceedings of the Fifth International Wuppertal Symposium on the Septuagint* (ed. Siegfried Kreuzer, Martin Meiser, and Marcus Sigismund; WUNT 361; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2016), 404–28; idem, “Daniel 5 in Aramaic and Greek and the Textual History of Daniel 4–6,” in *IOSOT Congress Volume: Stellenbosch 2016* (SVT 177; ed. Louis C. Jonker, Christl M. Maier, and Gideon Kotzé; Leiden: Brill, 2017), 251–84; idem, “Harmonization and Rewriting of Daniel 6 from the Bible to Qumran,” in *HĀ-’ĪSH MŌSHE: Studies in Scriptural Interpretation in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Related Literature in Honor of Moshe J. Bernstein* (ed. Binyamin Y. Goldstein, Michael Segal, and George J. Brooke; STDJ 122; Leiden: Brill, 2017), 265–79.

(55) I briefly addressed this example in Segal, “The Text of the Hebrew Bible,” 14–15 n. 40.

(56) See Alexander Rofé, “4QSam^a in Light of Historico-Literary Criticism: The Case of 2 Sam 24 and 1 Chr 21,” in *Biblische und Judaistische Studien: Festschrift für Paolo Sacchi* (ed. Angelo Vivian; Frankfurt am Main, 1990), 109–19.

frgs. 164–165, line 2, (57) which already includes the angel with “his sword drawn in his hand against Jerusalem” (parallel to 1 Chr 21:16). He therefore came to the conclusion that version preserved in 4QSam^a of this passage serves as the missing link between MT 2 Sam 24 and 1 Chr 21, and was the source for the Chronicler in this chapter. (58) However, it seems more likely to me that 4QSam^a represents a conscious harmonization of the Samuel text to the Chronicles passage, copying the angel with the drawn sword from the later text into the earlier one, and thus reflects a stage secondary to MT 1 Chr 21. (59) This too would then reflect a “boomerang” effect, with the rewritten composition (Chronicles) influencing the further development and transmission of the earlier source (Samuel).

It is important to note, however, that all three stages described here in each of these phenomenological parallels are considered “biblical,” and almost all of these textual witnesses are included in the primary biblical canons. Therefore, one needs to be careful before assuming that these dynamic processes are related to the question of the authoritative status of any specific composition.

Implications for dynamics of textual plurality

The study above addresses one of the many examples of textual development attested in antiquity and highlights the dynamic aspects of these processes. The analysis proposed here attempted to unravel the different stages of this development, allowing for a better understanding of some of the ways scribes read and wrote in antiquity. As suggested, this case is not unique within this corpus, and has parallels in other compositions and manuscripts from this period. This reconstructed dynamic process, based upon the textual evidence afforded to us by the discovery of the Dead Sea scrolls, stands at the heart of the phenomenon of textual plurality under discussion in this volume, and therefore has hopefully contributed to the clarification of this issue so central in the formative period of these texts.

Michael SEGAL
Hebrew University of Jerusalem

(57) Frank M. Cross et al., eds., *Qumran Cave 4. XII: 1–2 Samuel* (DJD 17; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2005), 193–94.

(58) Rofé, “4QSam^a in Light of Historico-Literary Criticism,” 115–16.

(59) *Contra* Cross et al., *1–2 Samuel*, 193; Eugene C. Ulrich, *The Qumran Text of Samuel and Josephus* (HSM 19; Missoula, MT: Scholars Press, 1978), 156–57.

LE CANTIQUE D'ACTION DE GRÂCE DU PAUVRE À DIEU SAUVEUR EN 4Q491 11 ET LES PARALLÈLES

Summary

L'hymne d'action de grâces 4Q491 11 appartient au rouleau de la *Règle de la Guerre* à la suite de l'éditeur. C'est un hymne d'action de grâces au Dieu sauveur en faveur d'un individu et de son groupe suite à un retournement de situation en leur faveur. L'auteur à qui Dieu a révélé la connaissance des mystères divins en est l'interprète pour sa communauté. Cette composition du Maître qui a fait l'expérience du mépris tel le Serviteur de Dieu, demande aux disciples de rendre grâces pour les mystères révélés et la promesse de siéger dans la gloire en compagnie des anges s'ils persévèrent dans le chemin de perfection. Bien qu'incomplète, la copie de l'hymne en 4Q491 11 comprend deux parties distinctes, alors que les copies de l'hymne en 1QH^a xxv–xxvii et les parallèles de la grotte 4 sont une reprise de ce même thème mais d'un seul tenant, où un disciple confirme l'enseignement reçu du Maître, tel le nouveau Moïse, qui sera intronisé comme le bien-aimé du roi dans la gloire dans la congrégation sainte en compagnie des anges. Les disciples comme le Maître sont appelés à cette même glorification céleste comme récompense eschatologique lors de la visite divine. L'hymne par un disciple en 1QH^a et les parallèles tirant son inspiration directe de l'hymne du Maître en 4Q491 11 suppose la croyance en la résurrection affirmée dans d'autres compositions esséniennes comme entrée dans la gloire en compagnie des anges.

4 Q491 11 i, dénommé 'Cantique de Michel et cantique des justes' par M. Baillet, est attribué à 4Q491-4Q*Rouleau de la Guerre*, copie datée de la deuxième moitié du 1^{er} siècle av. J.-C. (1) Comme le

(1) Maurice Baillet, « La Règle de la Guerre (premier exemplaire : M^a) », dans *Qumrân Grotte 4. III: (4Q482–4Q520)* (ed. Maurice Baillet; DJD 7; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982), 12–44 (12 et 26–29). La proposition de Baillet fait appel à 1QM XVII 6 qui mentionne Michel.

joint du fragment à gauche qualifié de ‘seulement probable’ par Baillet est loin d’être assuré d’une part et qu’il est sans correspondance des lignes d’autre part, alors que la feuille est réglée, marges et lignes (voir photographie B-370892), le fragment 11 i ne peut appartenir à la feuille du fragment 11 ii (désormais désigné frg. 11a). Le fragment 11 est, sans doute possible, réduit à une seule colonne. (2) Celle-ci mesure *circa* 11 cm de largeur. (3) Des deux mains ou calames qui ont copié les fragments de 4Q491, les frgs 12 et 23 appartiennent à celle du frg. 11, même colonne ou même feuille, et pourraient être en fin du rouleau. La question posée par les chercheurs est de savoir si le fragment 11 appartient de fait à une copie du *Rouleau de la Guerre* (4Q491) ou à un autre rouleau des *Hymnes* de la grotte 4. (4) Avant quelque élément de réponse,

(2) Voir Emile Puech, « L’hymne de la glorification du Maître de 4Q431 », dans *Prayer and Poetry in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Related Literature: Essays in Honor of Eileen Schuller on the Occasion of Her 65th Birthday* (ed. Jeremy Penner, Ken M. Penner, and Cecilia Wassen; STDJ 98; Leiden: Brill, 2012), 377–407 (378). Cette copie sera citée d’après les trois colonnes du rouleau, après avoir remis en place les fragments retrouvés.

(3) Voir les indications de Baillet, « La Règle de la Guerre », 12, on peut estimer à 11–11,5 cm la largeur maximale.

(4) Martin Abegg, « Who Ascended to Heaven? 4Q491, 4Q427, and the Teacher of Righteousness », dans *Eschatology, Messianism, and the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. Craig A. Evans and Peter W. Flint; SDSSRL; Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1997), 61–73. L’auteur pense avoir démontré que ces fragments sont copiés par deux(?) mains à cause de la dimension des lettres, des interlignes différents et de quelques tracés divergents, en particulier des *alef*, *qof*, *mem* médian et final et *šin*. En fait, les interlignes sont variables dans les seuls fragments attribués à 4Q491a, y compris dans un même fragment (frg. 17), et plusieurs sont identiques à ceux des fragments de 4Q491c (= frg. 11), mais ils sont réglés contrairement au dire de l’auteur (p. 64). Si des modules sont variables dans tous ces fragments, les ductus de 4Q491a sont bien moins réguliers qu’il n’y paraît dans chacun des fragments de 4Q491a où l’on retrouve les mêmes formes qu’au frg. 11. Cela peut aussi tenir aux calames, leur inclinaison dans la main et à la rapidité d’exécution des tracés, certains fragments attestent une graphie semi-cursive (tels les frgs 11a, 14–15, 25). Quant aux différences orthographiques en 4Q491 11, en général assez régulières mais avec des corrections et aussi des oublis pour le suffixe long *א־*, deux fois sur 3 ou 4 (frg. 12 4) en *אני*, lignes 6 et 7, deux fois sur 3 en *כבודי*, lignes 6 et 8. En revanche, la graphie *מִיָּא* se retrouve dans tous ses emplois en 4Q491 11 8–9–10 et en 1QM mais uniquement 3 fois ailleurs en 4Q301 2 3–4, et 4Q511 2 ii 6, celle de *פִּיָּא* se retrouve aussi en 4Q491 1–3 8 et 20 2, c’est dire que le copiste est moins consistant qu’on veut le dire (p. 69) et qu’il est probablement avant tout influencé par la copie qu’il a sous les yeux. Enfin le vocabulaire lui semble aussi plus proche de celui des *Hymnes*. La distinction des trois copies, mais 4Q491b–c sont d’une même main (p. 65), est suivie par Michael Wise, « *מי כמורי באלים* : A Study of 4Q491c, 4Q471b, 4Q427 and 1QH^a 25:35–26:10 », *DSD* 7 (2000): 173–219, mais Florentino García Martínez, « Old Texts and Modern Mirages: The ‘I’ of the Two Qumran Hymns », dans *Qumranica Minora I: Qumran Origins and Apocalypticism* (STDJ 63; Leiden: Brill, 2007), 105–25, distingue uniquement deux copies en regroupant b–c en une seule copie, et le sujet qui parle est alors le Prince Michel, alors que dans les *Hymnes*, c’est la voix du Maître de Justice qui

il importe de relire ces restes et de les comparer aux copies d'un texte assez proche, 1QH^a XXV 34–XXVII 3/5(?), 4Q427 II 18–V 5(?), (5) 4Q428 21 et 4Q431 I–III, (6) hymne qui sera présenté ci-dessous selon la copie de 1QH^a avec les restaurations empruntées aux parallèles.

Le fragment 4Q491 11 a été soumis au test du C₁₄, qui a donné une datation entre 168 et 50 av. J.-C. (7) Et la datation paléographique situe la copie dans la deuxième moitié du 1^{er} s. av. J.-C., (8) sinon un peu plus tôt, toutefois la copie avec des corrections ne peut être un original. La copie 4Q427 est datée *circa* -50, dans une écriture hasmonéenne tardive, elle aussi avec des corrections et oublis qui ne peut en faire le texte original. Les copies 4Q431 et 1QH^a datent de l'époque hérodiennne ancienne. Ainsi les manuscrits de ce second type d'hymne sont tous des copies d'une composition ancienne comme en témoigne

continue à résonner dans la communauté (p. 124–25). Joseph L. Angel, *Otherworldly and Eschatological Priesthood in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (STDJ 86; Leiden: Brill, 2010), 132–37, suit assez bien Wise.

(5) 4Q427 II 18 – V 5(?) a été étudié ailleurs, voir Emile Puech, « Un hymne d'action de grâce pour les merveilles de Dieu (4Q427) », *Rivista Biblica* 62 (2014): 441–74, où ont été regroupés les frgs 3a–b, 4–13 i–5–6–7 i, 13 ii–7 ii. Il sera cité selon sa mise en place dans le rouleau, col. II–IV(–V).

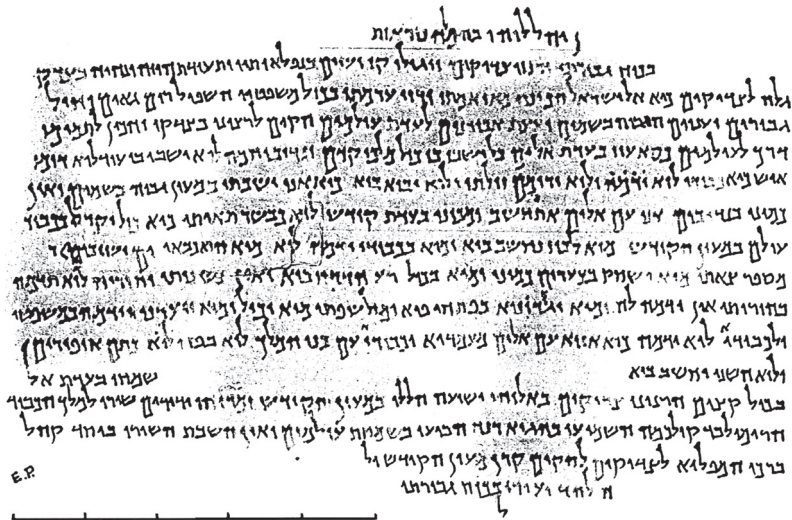
(6) Puech, « L'hymne de la glorification », 377–407, a montré que 4Q431 et 4Q471b sont des fragments d'un même et unique rouleau, l'hymne occupant les trois premières colonnes I–III dans une mise en colonne quelque peu différente de celle adoptée dans le dépliant III de l'édition de Eileen Schuller, « 4QHodayot^c », dans *Qumran Cave 4. Poetical and Liturgical Texts, Part 2* (ed. Esther Chazon *et al.*; DJD 29; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1999), 199–208. Abegg, « Who Ascended to Heaven? », 70, distingue trois manuscrits : I (4Q491 8–10, 11 ii, 13 et 26 avec des parallèles en 1QM XIV–XVIII, II (frgs 1–3 et 5–6) avec des échos épars en 1QM, et III (frgs 11 i et 12) sans rapport avec 1QM mais avec les *Hymnes*, pourrait être l'hymne qui aurait fait partie de la fin perdue de 1QH^a (p. 72). Elisha Qimron, *The Dead Sea Scrolls: The Hebrew Writings* (vol. 1; Jerusalem: Yad Ben Zvi Press, 2010), 1:xxxii, écrit : « And yet the common opinion, that the fragment 11 does not belong to the War Scroll, deserves to be reexamined, since its content is consistent with the latter's apocalyptic descriptions. Codicologically this fragment seems to belong to 4QM^a. The differences in spelling and writing which Martin Abegg found are quite minor, and hardly support his claim that the fragments of 4QM^a belong to three different manuscripts. »

(7) Magen Broshi and Hanan Eshel, « Radiocarbon Dating and “the Messiah Before Jesus” », *RevQ* 20 (2001): 311–17 (316), le fragment 11 soumis au test du C₁₄ donne les résultats suivants : à 1 σ -168–50, à 2 σ -198–2 av. J.-C. (la photographie B-370893 montre l'extraction du morceau de cuir envoyé au laboratoire, à droite du *vacat*, ligne 12). Par la même occasion a aussi été soumis au test 4Q427, avec des résultats similaires, à 1 σ -188–49, à 2 σ -198–2 av. J.-C. Ainsi la thèse d'Israel Knohl, *The Messiah Before Jesus: The Suffering Servant of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2000), n'a aucun appui dans les copies de ces hymnes comme le démontrent les auteurs.

(8) Voir Baillet, « La Règle de la Guerre », 12, mais le C₁₄ favoriserait une datation hasmonéenne tardive. Les ratures et corrections en font une copie, et non l'original, certainement antérieur à cette date.

la plus ancienne copie 4Q428 21, *ca* du premier quart du 1^{er} s. av. J.-C. ; en conséquence la composition est à situer au mieux dans la deuxième moitié du deuxième siècle av. J.-C., contemporaine du Maître de Justice, ou peu après sa mort. (9) Le plus ancien manuscrit de la *Guerre*, 4Q493, date de la première moitié du 1^{er} s. av. J.-C. (10) Si 4Q491 11–12 et 23 appartiennent à ce rouleau de la *Guerre*, la composition du ‘Cantique’ doit aussi être antérieure, et peut être contemporaine du Maître ou peu après.

1 – Le manuscrit 4Q491 11 (voir figure 1) (x les formulations parallèles en 1QH^a et //, et en italiques les restaurations sans parallèle direct) :



- 1 [ן] [יה] [ללוהו בה] {מ} {פ} <לה נוראות>
- 2 בכח ח גבורתו ירגנו צ [די] קים ויגלו קדושים בנפלאותיו ותעודת הוזה ונהיה בצדק
- 3 [גלה לצדיקים כיא אל י] ישראל הכינה מאז אמתו ורצו ערמתו בכח משפטיו השפל רום גאים ו] חל
- 4 [גבורים ועניי] [ם] [הג] ביה [בש] מים ועצת אביונים לעדת עולמים הקים לרצונו בצדקו והכח ל [תמימי
- 5 [דרך לעו] למים כסא עוז בעדת אלים כל ישרו בו כול מלכי קדם ונדיביהמה לו] א ישרו בו עוד ל] וא דומי
- 6 [איש כיא] [כבודי ל] {י} א [ידמה] ולוא ירומם וזלתו ולוא יבוא ביא כיא אני ישבתי במען גבו]ה
- 7 בשמים ואץ
- 8 [כמוני בנ] דיבים אני עם אלים את {ת} חשב ומכוני בעדת קדש לוא כבשר תאן תי כיא [כול יקר לי
- 9 בכבוד
- 10 [עולם במען] הקדש [מ] א לבח נחשב ביא ומיא בכבודי ידמה ליא מיא הו]א [כבאי ים ישובו] {ם} {ספ} ר
- 9 [מספר צא] תו מיא יש [חק ב] צערים כמוני ומיא [בכח] רע הדמה ביא ואץ שנשתי והוריה לוא הדמה
- 10 [בהוריתי אץ ידמה ל] ה ומיא ג] ד {י} נא בפת ח] פיא [ומול שפתי מיא כיל ומיא יעדני ידמה במשפתי

(9) Voir Puech, « Un hymne d'action de grâce », 442.

(10) Voir Baillet, « La Règle de la Guerre », 50.

¹¹ [וְלִכְבוֹדֵי אֱלֹהִים] לֹא יִדְמָה כִּי אֵין אֵלִים מִעַמְדִּי יֵאָדָּם כְּבוֹדֵי אֱלֹהִים עִם בְּנֵי הַמֶּלֶךְ לֹא [בִּ] וְלֹא כְתָם
אֲפִירִים
¹² [וְלֹא הַשֵּׁנִי יִחְשַׁב (ו) בִּיא] vacat [] vacat שְׁמַחַו
בְּעֵדֶת אֱלֹהִים
¹³ [בְּכָל קְצֵים הָרְגִינוּ] צְדִיקִים בְּאֱלֹהֵי [יְשׁוּעָה הִלְלוּ] בְּמַעַן הַקֹּדֶשׁ וְמִרוּתוֹ [וְיִדְדִים שִׁירָו לְמֶלֶךְ הַכְּבוֹד]
¹⁴ הָרִימוּ לְבָד קוֹלָכֶם הַשִּׁמְעוּ בְּהִנָּא רְנָה [הַבִּיעוּ] בְּשִׂמְחַת עוֹלָמִים וְאַחַן הַשִּׁירָו בִּיחֻד קָהָל
¹⁵ בְּרַכּוֹ הַמַּפְלִיא לְצְדִיקִים [לְהַקִּים קֶרֶן מִעַן הַקֹּדֶשׁ וְלִ]]°
¹⁶ [הַ] לְהוֹדִיעַ יְדוֹ בְּכֹחַ [וְגִבּוֹרָתוֹ]
¹⁷ [לִ]]°

Traduction

¹ [...]ils le]l[ouent {par eux} <parce qu'Il fait de merveilleux> prodiges[...

²..., dans la force de Sa puissance exultent les justes et les saints jubilent à cause de [Ses merveilles, et le décret de ce qui est et sera(?)] dans la justice

³[Il a révélé aux justes, car le Dieu d'I]sraël l'a fixé, de tout temps (est) Sa vérité et les secrets de Sa prudence (sont) dans tou[s Ses jugements. Il a abaissé la fierté des orgueilleux et]la force

⁴[des puissants, mais les humble]s [Il a élevé dans]les cieus, et un conseil de pauvres en congrégation éternelle Il a[établi selon Son bon plaisir dans Sa justice. (Et) Il a fixé pour] les parfaits de

⁵[conduite pour tou]jours un trône de puissance dans l'assemblée des 'anges' ; aucun des rois d'autrefois ne s'y est assis, ni leurs nobles ne[s'y assiéront point. N']est mon pareil

⁶[personne, car] ma gloire {est incomparable} <est mienne> et nul n'est exalté à part moi ni ne peut venir à mon encontre, car moi, je demeure dans [un lieu élé]vé dans les cieus, et il n'y a pas

⁷[mon pareil parmi les no]bles. Moi, avec les 'anges' je suis compté et ma résidence est dans la congrégation sainte. [Mon] désir n'est pas selon la chair, [car] tout ce qui m'est précieux (est) dans la gloire

⁸[éternelle dans le sé]jour de sainteté. Qui a été compté pour objet de mépris par/à cause de moi ? Et qui dans ma gloire est comparable à moi ? Qui est celui [qui, tels]ceux qui vont en mer, reviennent, a raconté

⁹[le récit de] son expédition ? Qui ne r[it des] peines comme moi ? Et qui [dans quelqu]e malheur a été comparable à moi ? Personne. J'ai été instruit, mais d'enseignement il n'est pas de comparable

¹⁰[à mon enseignement, rien ne lui est semblable(?)). Et qui rivaliserai {en}t avec moi quand [j'ouvre la bouche,] et le flux de mes lèvres qui le contiendrait ? Et qui m'assignerait et serait pareil dans mon jugement ?

¹¹[Et à ma gloire, il n'y a rien de comparable. C]ar moi, avec les 'anges' je [me] tiens[, et] ma gloire est avec les fils du Roi. Ni [l'o]r (pur) ni l'or des Ophîrs

¹²[ni le vermeil ne compte(nt) pour moi.] *vacat* [] *vacat*
[Réjouissez-vous dans la congrégation de Di]eu

¹³[*en tout temps*. Jubilez,]les justes, dans le Dieu [du salut. Louez] dans la demeure de sainteté. Proclamez-L[e, ô bien-aimés ! Chantez pour le Roi de gloire.

¹⁴Élevez à l'unisson votre voix. Faites] entendre un cri de joie.[Acclamez]en réjouissances continuelles, et sans ces[se chantez dans une commune assemblée.

¹⁵ *Bénissez Celui qui fait des merveilles pour les juste*s en dressant la corne de la demeu[re sainte(?)] et en ...

¹⁶*en relevant les chancelants et ceux d'entre eu*x[qui tombent,] en faisant connaître Sa main par la puissance[de Sa force, ...

Notes de lecture :

– Ligne 1: La trace d'encre semble être celle de *nun* ou de *kaf*, puis le point d'encre est celui du bas d'un jambage droit. Plus loin le copiste a écrit ה<ל>ה {פ}<מ>[, *mem* corrigé en *pe* et ajout du *lamed*. La correction de מה<ב>ה en ה<ל>ה {פ}<מ>[מה est assurée étant donnée la suite (voir 4Q511 35 5).

– Ligne 2 : Lire avec Baillet ה גבורתו ירננו צד[די]ק[ים] בכו[ם], voir 1QH^a V 15, XII 33, XXIII 9, XXVI 34, 4Q264 7, 4Q418 159 ii 3, 4Q427 IV 15, Ps 33,1. (11) On peut traduire les verbes par un futur, ou par un jussif 'qu'exultent les justes et que jubilent les saints ...' (12)

– Ligne 3 : Comme le note Baillet, מאז אמתו est écrit sans séparation, cela devrait signifier que le substantif n'est pas à lier au verbe précédent comme double accusatif. Le suffixe féminin du verbe הכינה reprend un substantif féminin, qui semble être תעודה comme dans le parallèle de 1QH^a XX 12–14 : 'le décrêt, le jugement/arrêt', et autoriserait une restauration, e.g., pour les espaces ב. [נפלאותיו ותעודת הוזה ונהיה] בצדק[ם] //גלה לצדיקים כיא אל [ישראל] (13) Pour

(11) Qimron, *Hebrew Writings*, 1:103, lit במעש[י] גבורתו ירננו צד[די]ק[ים], mais la lettre est très difficilement *yod* et séquence sans parallèle à Qumrân, le mot suivant doit être lu א[ל]ו[ה]י[ם] צד[די]ק[ים] avec des restes de *dalet* et *yod*. Mais une lecture א[ל]ו[ה]י[ם] Wise, « Study of 4Q491c », 182–84, est impossible. L'auteur met la marge droite près de la cassure de la l. 6, soit une colonne plus réduite, à la suite de Deborah Dimant, « A Synoptic Comparison of Parallel Sections in 4Q427 7, 4Q491 11 and 4Q471B », *JQR* 55 (1994): 157–61 (157–59).

(12) Ainsi E. Puech, *La croyance des Esséniens en la vie future : immortalité, résurrection, vie éternelle ? Histoire d'une croyance dans le judaïsme ancien* (EB NS 22; Paris: Gabalda, 1993), 492–94 (493), cette note révisé quelques restaurations, sans en changer l'interprétation générale.

(13) Wise, « Study of 4Q491c », 184, comprend le suffixe comme reprenant חוכמה, qui est loin de s'imposer. Jean Duhaime, « War Scroll (1QM; 1Q33; 4Q491–496 = 4QM1–6; 4Q497) », dans *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek Texts with English Translations* (ed. James H. Charlesworth; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1995), 2:152–53, traduit 'He has established long ago his truth', même traduction de *The Dead Sea Scrolls Reader* (ed. Donald W. Parry and Emanuel Tov; 2nd ed.; Leiden:

l'expression ורזי ערמתו, voir 1QpHab VII 14. Et en fin de ligne, une lecture חיל[ב étant exclue, seraient possibles soit] חיל[נבורים] (1QH^a VIII 26), ou חיל[אנשי] (1QM II 8, VI 13, ...) ou ?

– Ligne 4 : Après le *mem* final, sur la photographie B-370893, il y a des restes d'une base légèrement penchée à gauche que rejoint une haste et une trace de jambage à sa gauche : soit ביא[ה(י)] ou ביה[ה(י)נ], mais תמי[מים] ensuite est impossible. (14) Cette lecture permettrait de restaurer, e.g., בכנ[ל משפטי, (ligne 3) והשפיל רום גאים ו]חיל[נבורים ועני] [ב] [הנ] ביה[בש]מים (ligne 4), voir 1QH^a XVIII 26 et XXVI 16. (15) À la cassure, le jambage est celui du tracé de *he* bien préférable à celui de *waw*, et autoriserait de restaurer pour l'espace תמימי ה[קים לדענו בצדקו והכן ל]תמימי, voir entre autres 1QH^a IX 38, 1QM XIV 7, 1QS IV 22. (16)

– Ligne 5 : La lecture עז est assurée, (17) 'fort' c'est-à-dire 'stable, durable'. Pour l'expression בעדת אלים, voir 1QM I 10, et 1Q22 iv 1. Dans la même ligne de l'exaltation du pauvre et du faible sur un trône, voir 1 S 2,8, Ps 113,7–8, où sont aussi mentionnés les נדיבים en parallèle comme héritiers, voir aussi 4Q521 2 ii 7. En conséquence, restaurer pour l'espace, e.g., ל[א] ישוב בו עז ל[א] (18)

– Ligne 6 : Au début de la ligne, lire très vraisemblablement [איש כיא] כבורי, l'exponctuation du verbe {ידמה} demande de lire ליא au lieu de la négation לוא. (19) En fin de ligne, lire בשמים ב[מען גבו]ה (20)

Brill, 2014), 287: 'He established His truth from of old'. Florentino García Martínez and Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition* (Leiden: Brill, 1998), 2:980–81 (sous 4Q491c) traduisent 'he established [I]srael from eternity' avec répétition de l'accusatif suffixé. Les joints doivent être resserrés à droite pour un léger espace supplémentaire à gauche.

(14) Qimron, *Hebrew Writings*, 1:103, sans trace de *mem* médian assez bas sous la ligne dans cette main.

(15) García Martínez and Tigchelaar, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition*, 980, restaurent חיל[דור דוד]...

(16) Wise, « Study of 4Q491c », 185–86, restaure en fin de ligne אל וימר ברוך, on peut douter de l'orthographe du verbe dans cette copie et du pluriel qui n'est pas dans le style de ces lignes, sans parler du *waw* peu assuré.

(17) Qimron, *Hebrew Writings*, 1:103, hésite 'ou עז', qui est exclu.

(18) Qimron, *Hebrew Writings*, 1:103, restaure ל[א] נחלוהו ל[א] ויא, restauration trop courte pour l'espace, d'autant qu'il faut redresser la ligne à cause de la cassure du *nun* écartelé du mot précédent. La construction rappelle celle de 1 S 2,8. Il en est de même pour ל[א] ויפשו לו[א] de Wise, « Study of 4Q491c », 186, en outre peu en situation dans le passage.

(19) Qimron, *Hebrew Writings*, 1:103, lit (ידמה) לוא כבורי, estimant que le scribe a exponctué le verbe et a oublié d'exponctuer la négation. Il est possible et sans doute probable que la graphie ליא est pour לי, comme ביא pour בי dans la même ligne, ou מיא pour מי et אניא pour אני dans ce passage, le mot n'ayant pas été exponctué. Wise, « Study of 4Q491c », 186–87, accepte cette lecture mais sa restauration trop courte ne lui permet pas de la rendre, considérée comme pléonasmie : 'No]ne can compare [to] my glory'.

(20) Qimron, *Hebrew Writings*, 1:103, lit ב[מוש]ב בשמים, mais restauration bien trop courte pour l'espace d'une part et, d'autre part, les restes s'opposent à une base

– Ligne 7 : Au début de la ligne, lire avec certitude [כמוני בנ]דיבים. (21) Le mot reprend celui de la ligne 5, et se comprend mieux en parallèle comme compté parmi les fils du Roi et avec les ‘anges’ (ligne 11), voir aussi 1 S 2,8 ; il ne s’agit manifestement pas d’un ordre spécifique d’anges. Puis le copiste a inséré un *taw* interlinéaire qu’il a exponctué חשב {ת}את. Puis lire avec Baillet et en complétant יקר תאו[תי כיא]כול (22) voir Jr 20,5, Ez 22,25 et Jb 28,10. Pour לי, voir PAM 41.846, la hampe du *lamed* est tracée à droite à cause du *mem* de la ligne 6.

– Ligne 8 : Au début de la ligne, restaurer [עולם במע]ון, voir 1QH^a V 23, XI 5, *IQSb* III 4, 4Q418 126 ii 18, (23) puis במע[ן הקודש] *IQM* XII 2. Dans cette ligne, le suffixe de la première personne est écrit 5 fois en *scriptio plena*. (24) Malgré la correction, la fin de la ligne est entièrement récupérable en lisant : מיא הו[א] [כבאי ים ישובו] {ספ}ר (voir PAM 42.474 et B-370893), comparer Sira 43,24. (25)

– Ligne 9 : Au début de la ligne, lire certainement תו[מספר צא], continuant la phrase de la ligne 8. Puis la lecture ne fait aucune difficulté : מיא יש[ח]ק (26) Ensuite comprendre רע [בכו]ל (27) Les deux phrases se

de *bet* suivie de *yod*, deux jambages de *he* assuré (voir B-370893), voir déjà Baillet, « La Règle de la Guerre », 27, renvoyant à PAM 41.847 : *he* certain. Wise, « Study of 4Q491c », 187, qui refuse le joint du fragment cependant assuré aux lignes 6–9 (p. 179–80), propose [רומ נשא בשמ]ים.

(21) Qimron, *Hebrew Writings*, 1:103, lit [כמוני בכ] (ר)ובים, mais cette lecture n’est pas à retenir, *yod* est assuré ainsi que la tête de *dalet* assez basse, voir די au-dessus, lecture de Dimant, « A Synoptic Comparison », 157–61 mais restauration trop courte ואין [סב]יבים, tout comme celle de Wise, « Study of 4Q491c », 187, ואין [נד]יבים.

(22) Qimron, *Hebrew Writings*, 1:103, lit תאו[תי כיא]כול ..., et Wise, « Study of 4Q491c », 187–88, restaure תאו[תי כיא]עם גור[לי], mais bien trop court et sans tenir compte des restes sur un fragment jointif. García Martínez, « Old Texts and Modern Mirages », 119, souligne le sens de תאו[תי] לוא כבשר, « [Mon] désir n’est pas *selon* la chair. »

(23) Qimron, *Hebrew Writings*, 1:103, restaure [מלאכים במע]ון, mot trop long pour l’espace à la marge.

(24) La graphie pleine מיא assez rare est connue entre autre en *IQM* X 8,9, XIII 13.14, à côté de כיא.

(25) Qimron, *Hebrew Writings*, 1:103, lit ... ישיב ... מיא ה, comme préférable à ישוב. Mais la lecture de l’éditeur est moins ‘désespérée’ qu’il ne l’écrit : *mem* final corrigé en *samek*, addition de *pe* médian tourné à droite et de *reš*, malgré les considérations de Wise, « Study of 4Q491c », 188, מיא הו[א]...[2]ימ[5]מספר, en repositionnant le fragment, le joint est parfait, et il n’y a aucun *pe* final, mais médian dextrograde.

(26) Qimron, *Hebrew Writings*, 1:103, ne restaure rien [ישח]ק, et poursuit מיא [צערים]יש, mais restauration trop courte pour l’espace, d’autant qu’il faut redresser la ligne et agrandir quelque peu la lacune. Wise, « Study of 4Q491c », 188–89, propose des lectures impossibles et une restauration trop courte [צערים]ישא. García Martínez and Tigchelaar, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition*, 980, restaurent [צערים]כול, puis [יסב]ל רע, beaucoup trop longs pour les espaces, suivis pour cette dernière restauration par Joseph Blenkinsopp, « The Servant of the Lord, the Teacher of Righteousness, and the Exalted One of 4Q491c », dans *Far from Minimal: Celebrating the Work and Influence of Philip R. Davies* (ed. Duncan Burns and John W. Rogerson; LHB/OTS 484; London: T & T Clark, 2012), 41–51 (47–49).

(27) Qimron, *Hebrew Writings*, 1:103, lit [לוא]ל רע ומיא, (surprenant), et Baillet, « La Règle de la Guerre », 27 [כו]ל רע ומיא, restauration trop courte. Wise, « Study of

complètement en montrant la hauteur d'âme de l'auteur/orant dans ses peines et malheurs(?). La fin de la ligne a posé des difficultés de traduction. (28)

– Ligne 10 : Restaurer avec Baillet בְּהוֹרִיתִי à l'aide de 4Q431 I 4(15), et la trace à la cassure est au mieux celle de la tête de *he* (PAM 42.474), peut-être pour אֵין יִדְמָה לְ[ה] (29) Puis le scribe a écrit יִגְדוּנִי corrigé en נִיא (30) Le reste de la ligne est de lecture assurée. Le verbe יִיעֲדֵנִי est à rattacher à la racine יַעַד, non à עוֹד selon certains commentateurs. (31)

– Ligne 11 : Lire en toute certitude מַעֲמַד[וֹ] כְּבוֹדִי־א (voir PAM 42.474 et B-370893). (32) Au début de la ligne, restaurer pour l'espace [וּלְכַבְּדִי־א] (33) L'IA ANIA עַם אֱלִים, voir 4Q427 III 11 et partiellement 4Q431 I 19. (33) Comme le suggère l'espace, il est possible que le copiste ait écrit [בַּ]פּוֹ לֵא, en exponctuant le *bet* non repris ensuite. (34)

– Ligne 12 : Au début de la ligne, restaurer, *e.g.*, [וְלוֹא הַשְׁנִי] יִחְשְׁבֵנוּ (35) Après un long *vacat* dans la ligne, une longue hampe de *lamed* emplit tout l'interligne avec le départ du pied à 0,5 mm sous le tracé de la ligne appartient manifestement à cette ligne non à la ligne 13, est-ce comme pour signaler des 'majuscules' ? (36)

4Q491c », 189, restaure לְ[חַד] en s'inspirant de 4Q431(= 471B) I 14, mais dans une tout autre séquence. Peut-on hésiter et traduire « et qui [parmi cha]que compagnon est comparable à moi ? », rapprocher 1QH^a XXVI 2–3 ?

(28) Qimron, *Hebrew Writings*, 1:103, lit נִשְׁנִיתִי, et Wise, « Study of 4Q491c », 189–91, pose la question de la coupure entre נִשְׁנִיתִי וְאֵין, qu'il refuse 'Never have I been instructed' contrairement à Baillet. Mais le *waw* peut aussi avoir un sens d'opposition 'mais, toutefois', l'instruction peut venir des maîtres mais aussi de révélations. García Martínez, « Old Texts and Modern Mirages », 121, considère la lecture הוֹרִיתִי comme très incertaine, cependant elle ne fait pas difficulté.

(29) Qimron, *Hebrew Writings*, 1:103, propose יִשְׁבִּינִי מִיָּא]. Wise, « Study of 4Q491c », 182, lit אֲלִי בְּהוֹרִיתִי, restauration peu vraisemblable.

(30) Qimron, *Hebrew Writings*, 1:103, lit יִגְדִּי־וֹנִי, *hif'il* de נָגַד 'qui m'a informé', au lieu du *qal* de נָגַד avec Baillet, ou de גָּדַד. Dimant, « A Synoptic Comparison », 158, lit יִגְדִּי־וֹנִי בְּה, mais lecture impossible.

(31) Voir Hartmut Stegemann *et al.*, *1QHodayot^a with Incorporation of 1QHodayot^b and 4QHodayot^{c-f}* (DJD 40; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2009), 302.

(32) Baillet, « La Règle de la Guerre », 27–28, 'restitution très incertaine' que suit Dimant, « A Synoptic Comparison », 159, mais Qimron, *Hebrew Writings*, 1:103, lit מַעֲמַד[וֹ] כְּבוֹדִי־א, toutefois l'espace et les graphies et corrections dans cette ligne demandent une *scriptio plena* du suffixe, de même déjà Wise, « Study of 4Q491c », 191.

(33) Voir Puech, « Un hymne d'action de grâce », 443, et Puech, « L'hymne de la glorification », 381. Wise, « Study of 4Q491c », 182, restaure לֵא כִּי לֹא יִדְמָה לְ[ה]. García Martínez and Tigchelaar, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition*, 980, restaurent [...] יְדִיד הַמֶּלֶךְ רַע לְקִדְוִשִׁים ... לֹא יִדְמָה לְ[ה], sans espace pour cela.

(34) Wise, « Study of 4Q491c », 191, lit le *bet* qui est indispensable pour son interprétation, et la restauration אֲכַמְסוּהוּ, l. 12, est peu vraisemblable.

(35) Voir Puech, « Un hymne d'action de grâce », 443, et Puech, « L'hymne de la glorification », 381. Qimron, *Hebrew Writings*, 1:103, restaure [יִשְׁוֹ בִּי].

(36) Baillet, « La Règle de la Guerre », 27–28, pose la question de sa fonction. Qimron, *Hebrew Writings*, 1:103, l'attribue à la ligne 13. Wise, « Study of 4Q491c », 191–93, en fait, à la marge gauche de la l. 12, le début du cantique suivant, qui serait parallèle au *waw* paléohébreu de 4Q22 (paléoExode^m) [et de 11Q1(paléolévitique) ou

En fin de ligne restaurer sans doute א[ל שמוה בעדת א] d'après 1QH^a XXVI 10 et 4Q427 III 14, voir aussi 4Q427 8 i 10. Par ce long *vacat*, le fragment 11 atteste ainsi deux parties distinctes du même 'Cantique' de louange comparé aux copies de 1QH^a XXVI 9, 4Q427 III 13 et 4Q431 I 21 sans aucune coupure, et non deux cantiques différents. (37)

– Ligne 13 : Les restes et les espaces autorisent la restauration [בכול קצים] d'après 4Q427 III 14 et 17, en notant la lecture sans l'inversion dans la copie 4Q427 III 14 : באהלי [ישועה], voir Ps 118,15, (38) toutefois 4Q510 1 8 lit : רננו צדיקים באלוהי פלא, et 2 2 : א. לווהי ישע. Cependant, compte tenu des trois stiques de construction parallèle où le *bet* introduit un lieu, il est vraisemblable que la lecture de 4Q427 est originale, le scribe ayant omis la correction. Puis restaurer [במעון הקודש] avec 4Q427 III 14–15. En fin de ligne, lire et compléter שירו למלך הכבוד avec 4Q427 III 13–14, parfait pour l'espace. (39)

– Ligne 14 : Les restes et l'espace à la marge autorisent la restauration d'un membre de phrase synonyme [השמינו לבד קולכמה] מיעו בהניא, voir Ps 118,15, (38) avec 4Q427 III 16 et 17 et 1QH^a XXVI 13. (40) Puis restaurer pour l'espace [בשמחת עולמים] avec 4Q427 III 17. (41) La fin de la ligne

du *waw* en écriture araméenne en 4Q27(Nb^b) XXI 28]. Mais cette comparaison ne tient pas, car dans le cas du *waw*, la lettre est vers le milieu du *vacat* entre deux paragraphes, imitant une pratique préexilique, voir les ostraca 2 et 3 d'Arad, mais ce n'est manifestement pas le cas à la ligne 12. Duhaime, « War Scroll », 153, ne le mentionne qu'en note à la fin de la l. 11, pour indiquer peut-être une division, et Blenkinsopp, « The Servant of the Lord », 45, 'probably marked a major break'. García Martínez and Tigchelaar, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition*, 980, en font la fin de la l. 12. Pourrait-on lui comparer le grand *dalet* de 4Q428 26 4 à lire soit [ד], soit [ב], mais certainement pas עד, de Eileen Schuller, « 4QHodayot^b », dans *Qumran Cave 4. XX: Poetical and Liturgical Texts, Part 2* (ed. Esther Chazon et al.; DJD 29; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1999), 125–75 (161), le 'ain est totalement exclu et 6 mm à la marge, bas de jambage à gauche de *waw/yod*, comparer 4Q511 10 12 où יד est pour י(הוה). Ce scribe a tendance à commencer les hampes très haut sous la ligne précédente, en particulier dans les *vacat*, voir frg. 1, ligne 6.

(37) Contrairement à Wise, « Study of 4Q491c », 193, à la suite de Baillet, et p. 214, il estime que la recension de 4Q491 11 est plus ancienne que celle des rouleaux des *Hymnes*. Pour García Martínez, « Old Texts and Modern Mirages », 112–18, il s'agit de deux hymnes dans la copie 4Q491b, sans commun rapport avec les autres copies, ni ancêtre commun. Ils appartiennent à un *Rouleau de la Guerre*.

(38) Wise, « Study of 4Q491c », 183–84, comprend 'among the angels [of deliverance]'. Ce sens est retenu par Magen Broshi and Hanan Eshel, « Radiocarbon Dating and the Messiah Before Jesus », *RevQ* 20 (2001): 311–17 (312). Or le fragment aux lignes 5, 7 et 11, use du mot אלים. On doit souligner que le copiste n'a pas procédé à quelque correction de l'expression attestée ailleurs, par oubli ou même par choix délibéré.

(39) Qimron, *Hebrew Writings*, 1:103, restaure עולם בצבא. Le verbe וזמרהו peut régir l'accusatif, voir Pss 7,18 ; 9,3 ; 47,7 ; 147,1, etc.

(40) Noter quelques variantes בהניא רנה (préposition absente en 4Q427 et omission de בכול קצים, mais restauré ici au début de la ligne 13.

(41) 4Q427 III 17 lit בשמחות au pluriel.

devrait aussi être restaurée ainsi קהל בשירו ביהד קהל avec 4Q427 III 17–18 et 1QH^a XXVI 14, séquence bien adaptée à l'espace. (42)

– Ligne 15 : La lecture מען est possible ('aïn certain, PAM 42.474). (43) L'expression מען הקודש קרן semble être l'opposée de להכניע [אויב להכניע], '... ennemi en hu[mili]ant la corne im[pie]' en 4Q491 4 4, fragment écrit par la même main que le frg. 11. Aussi en renvoyant à 4Q427 III 18, proposerait-on de restaurer, e.g., מען הקודש קרן להקים מען הקודש. ול. Mais on ne peut exclure une autre possibilité, e.g., מען פרום עולם, voir 1QH^a XXVI 27 et parallèles וירם אביו מעפר לרום עולם.

– Ligne 16 : La lecture נבחרתו ידו בכוהן [ה] est assurée (PAM 41.889 et 42.474), et la phraséologie renvoie encore à 4Q427 III 18, ומודיע עוז ידו. Ceci autoriserait-il de restaurer en début de ligne la deuxième partie de 4Q427 III 19 ?

En relation avec le fragment 11, une même graphie autorise de regrouper au moins les fragments 12 et 23. (44) Le frg. 12 avec la mention de la première personne pourrait se placer avant le frg. 11, et le frg. 23 avec les pluriels et les troisièmes personnes après le fragment 11 qui est composé de deux paragraphes ou strophes bien distincts. Ce point particulier a dû être à l'origine de la proposition de lire deux cantiques séparés par un *vacat* : 'Cantique de Michel et cantique des justes'.

4Q491 12 :

קל/ך]	1
מעונות ונכבד]	2
צערים לרח'ו בי]	3
ואני הדר ה]	4
ל'ל' [מ]כונ' (ה) {} [לוא]	5
].]	6

Traduction :

²... de/dans]Sa demeure, et vénéré[(s)...

³... d/lles] peines aux largesses de [...

⁴...] et moi, l'honneur de la[...

⁵...<.> {ses ?} <ma> [rési]dence et ne[...]pas[...

(42) Dimant, « A Synoptic Comparison », 159, lit] ואין כ.], à la suite de Baillet, de même Duhaime, « War Scroll », 152, et García Martínez and Tigchelaar, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition*, 980.

(43) Dimant, « A Synoptic Comparison », 159, lit קרן מש'ו, d'après 1 S 2,10 qui est totalement exclu mais lecture retenue par García Martínez and Tigchelaar, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition*, 980, par Broshi and Eshel, « Radiocarbon Dating », 312, et Esther Eshel, « 4Q471B: A Self-Glorification Hymn », *RevQ* 17 (1996): 175–203 (184).

(44) Baillet, « La Règle de la Guerre », 29–30, a déjà rapproché le fragment 12. Abegg, « Who Ascended to Heaven? », 61–73 a classé le frg. 23 en 4Q491b, non en c.

- Ligne 3 : Pour ‘*les*’ *peines*’, voir frg. 11 9.
- Ligne 4 : Pourrait-on comprendre הַדָּר הַעֲדָת הַקֹּדֶשׁ ‘l’honneur de la[congrégation sainte’ ?’, voir frg. 11 7. L’orthographe de אַנִּי est celle du frg. 11 6 et 7 avant l’orthographe pleine ensuite.
- Ligne 5 : Les restes mieux préservés sur PAM 41.846 autorisent la lecture כוניה [trace de *kaf* ?] corrigée par une parenthèse à droite de la lettre pour supprimer le ה, une autre parenthèse devait suivre dans la lacune pour lire le suffixe de la première personne (au lieu de la troisième du féminin ?). (45)

4Q491 23 :

ל]	1
בכ[ל קצים נ]	2
אביון ירים מ]עפר ונופל[ארץ לרום עולם	3
רוב ברח[מי סליחות]	4
ם גלה המ[שפטים	5
] vacat [6

Traduction :

- ²... *dans tou*]s les temps .[...
³... *Il a élevé le pauvre* de]la poussière et le défaillant[*à terre à une hauteur éternelle*...
⁴... *riche en miséri*]cordes de pardon[s...
⁵...]s *Il a révélé* [*les*] *ju*[*gements*(?) ...
⁶....]vacat[

- Ligne 3 : La séquence עולם ונופל[מ]עפר ונופל[ארץ לרום עולם peut renvoyer à des constructions semblables en 1QH^a XIX 15, 4Q427 IV 8 et 10, 4Q431 II 18, et 4Q427 III 19–20.
- Ligne 4 : La séquence רוב ברח[מי סליחות] semble rappeler la séquence en 4Q427 IV 15–16 : רחמים והפלא סליחות /בהמון[.
- Ligne 5 : Le reste de lettre est celui de *mem* final préférable à *kaf*. À l’autre cassure, il semble possible de proposer המ[שפטים, voir 4Q427 IV 15.

2 – L’hymne 1QH^a XXV 34–XXVII 3/5(?) = 4Q427 II 18–V 5 (א) = 4Q431 I–III 18/19 (א) = 4Q428 21 (א), voir 4Q491 11 א : (46) (voir figures 2 et 3)

(45) Les scribes usent de telles parenthèses pour corriger le texte, voir par exemple 4Q109 II 1, 4Q70–4QJr^a XII 11, 1QS VII 10, voir Emanuel Tov, *Scribal Practices and Approaches Reflected in the Texts Found in the Judean Desert* (STDJ 54; Leiden: Brill, 2004), 201–03 (mais ce n’est pas le cas en 4Q491 11 8).

(46) Voir figures 2a–b pour une vue générale de cet hymne dans le rouleau, sans autre prétention.

[illegible][illegible]

ותצו לשעו

»

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א. שווארץ

מלכות

Y.P. 51

אמר ר' זבדא

הערה: המידע
המפורסם

לכבוד הנהלת

על פי

שנתיים

1152

34 למשכיל מזמון] ר שיר להודיע כבודכה אל הדעות ולספר נפל [אותיכה
35 כיא [אתה אלי הושבתני בכסא עוז בעדת אלים בל ישבו] בו מלכי קדם
36 ונגדיהם לוא ישבו בו עוד אל ישראל הכן מאז אמתו ורזי [עורמתו
37 בכול משפטיהם ולוא דומי איש כיא כבודי לוא ידמה ולן] א ירומם זולתי
38 []
39 []
40 [לתמימי]
41 [דרך ומי ידמה לי בכבודי לוא]
42 [ישבתי בשמים כיא אני עם עצת אביונים לעדת]

XXVI

1 [עולמים מי ישוה לי ואני עם אלים אתחשב ומעוני בעדת]
2 [הקודש מי לבח נחשב בי ומי נבזה כמוני ומי כמוני חדל]
3 [אישים ומי בכול רע ידמה בי והוריה נשיתי לוא תדמה]
4 [בהוריתי אין ידמה לה כיא אני ישבתי בשמים ומי כמוני]
5 [באלים מי יגדני בפתחי פי ומזל שפתי מי יכיל ומי בלשון]
6 [ין] [ע] [ני במשפטי כיא אני ידיד המלך רע לקדושים ולוא]
7 יבוא [איש כמוני ולכבודי לוא ידמה כיא אני עם אלים מעמדי]
8 וכבודי עם בני המלך לוא בפן אכתיר לי וכתם אופיר] [ים] לוא יחשב]
9 בי והשני לוא יחשב בי ומרו ידידים שירו למלך הכבוד]
10 שמחן בעדת אל הרנינו באהלי ישועה הללו במען הקודש]
11 רוממן יחד בצבא עולם הבו גדול לאלנו וכבוד למלכנו הקדישו]
12 ש]מו בשפתי עוז ולשון נצח הרימו לבד קולכם בכול קצים]
13 השמ]עו הגי רנה הביעו בשמחות עולמים ואין השבת השירוי]
14 ביחד [קהל ? vac. ברכו והמפלי]א נאות ומודיע עוז ידו לחתום]
15 ריום ולגלות נסתרות לה]רים כושלים ונופליהם לשב לכת קוי דעות]
16 [ן] [ל] [הש] פיל נעדת רום נאים] עולם להתם רוי סוד ולהקים מזמות כבוד]
17 [השופט באף כ] [לה] [ל] [התם רשע ולהציל צדיק בחסד צדקה וברוב]
18 [רחמים תחנה תהיה לכל בני אמתו ואין רחמים למפרי טוב גדלן]
19 [ומקור ברכה נפתח ל]
20 [על ע ותמה רשעה]
21 [א ושבתי מדהבה שבת נוגש]
22 [בזעם כלתה רמיה ואין נעוות בלוא דעת]
23 [הופיע אור ושמחה תביע שבת אבל ונס יגן הופיע שלום]
24 [שבת פחד נפתח מקור לברכת עד ומרפא בכול קצי עולם כלה]
25 [עוזן] שב]ת ננע לאין מחלה נאספה עולה ואשמה לוא תהיה]
26 [עוד השמי]עו] ואמרן גדול אל עושה פלא כיא השפל גבהות]
27 רום לאין שרית ויר]ם מעפר אביון לרום עולם ועד שחקים]
28 יגביה בקומה ועם] אלים בעדת יחד ורפה חרון אף לכלת]
29 עולם וכו]שלי ארצ יר]ים לאין מחיר וגבורת עד עם מצעדם]
30 ושמחת עולם במכוניהם] כבוד נצח ואין השבת לעולמי עד]
31a [יזמרו ברוך אל המפלי פלאות נאות ומגדל]
31 [להודיע גבורה] ומצדיק] בדעת לכול מעשיו וטוב על פניהם]
32 בדעתם ברוב חסדיו] והמון רחמיו לכול בני אמתו ידענוכה]
33 אל הצדק והשכלנו בא]מתכה מלך הכבוד כיא ראינו קנאתכה]

34	בְּכֹחַ גְּבוּרָה וְהִכָּרְנוּ מִשְׁפָּטִיכָה בְּהִמָּן רַחֲמִים וְהַפְּלֵא סִלְיֹתָי	
35	מִה בִּשְׂרָ לֹאֵלָה וּמִה יִחְשָׁב עֶפְרָ וְאָמַר לְסֹפֵר אֱלֹהִים מִקֵּץ לִקְצֵי	
36	וְלֹהֲתִיצֵב {ל/ע} >ב> מַעֲמָדָי לִפְנֵיכָה וּלְבֹאֵא בִּיחָד עִם בְּנֵי שָׁמַיִם וְאֵין מַלְיָן	
37	לֹהֲשִׁיב דְּבַר פִּיכָה ב/מ	לכֹּה כִּיֹּא הֶעֱמַדְתִּינוּ
38	לְרַצְ[וֹנִי]כָה בְּצַדִּיקָת מִשְׁפָּטִיכָה	וְנַעֲצֹר כֹּחַ לְשִׁמּוֹנִי
39	[נִפְלְאוֹת {י/כָה}] כֹּאֵלָה	דְּבַרְנוּ לִכָּה וְלֹאֵי
40	[לְאִישׁ בִּינִים כִּיֹּא לֹאֵי עֲלֵתָה גְּבוּלֹת עַל פִּינוּ וְכֹל אֵין עַל מִצְעָאֵי	
41	[שִׁפְתֵינוּ הִשְׁמִיעֵנוּ וְאָמַרְנוּ בְּרִיךְ אֱלֹהִים הַנּוֹשֵׁא שָׁמַיִם בְּכֹחוֹ	
42	[וְכֹל מַחֲשִׁבֵיהֶם מִכֵּן בַּעֲזוֹ אֶרֶץ בְּגִבּוּרָתוֹ עוֹשֵׂה	
	XXVII	
	[] 1
	[] 2
	[] 3

Traduction (restaurations en italique) :

³⁴Pour l'Instructeur. Psaum[e. Cantique pour faire connaître ta gloire, Dieu des connaissances et pour raconter]Tes[merveille]les,

³⁵car[Toi, mon Dieu, Tu m'a fais asseoir sur un trône de puissance dans la congrégation des 'anges']sur lequell[ne se sont pas assis les rois d'autrefois

³⁶et[leurs nobles ne s'y assiéront point. Le Dieu d'Israël a fixé de tout temps Sa vérité et les mystères de Sa prudence

³⁷en chacun de leurs jugements. Personne ne m'est comparable, car ma gloire est incomparable, et nul n'est exalté à part moi ...

38

39

40

... et aux parfaits de

⁴¹conduite ... et qui est comparable à moi dans ma gloire ?

..... ne ...pas...

⁴²... je siège dans les cieux, parce que moi, je suis avec le conseil des pauvres pour une congrégation

XXVI¹éternelle. Qui est mon égal ? Moi avec les 'anges' je suis compté, et ma demeure est dans la congrégation

²sainte. Qui a été compté pour mépris à cause de moi ? Et qui a été méprisé autant que moi ? Et qui autant que moi a été le rebut des

³hommes ? Et qui en chaque malheur est comparable à moi ? Et l'enseignement dont j'ai été instruit, ne ressemble pas

⁴à mon enseignement, rien ne l'égale, car moi je siège dans les cieux. Et qui est comme moi

⁵parmi les 'anges' ? Qui rivalise avec moi quand j'ouvre la bouche ?

Et le flux de mes lèvres qui peut le contenir ? Et qui par la langue

⁶m']assig[nerait en justice à cause de mon jugement ? Car moi, je suis le bien-aimé du Roi, un compagnon pour les saints, et ne]

⁷viendra[*personne comme moi*, et à ma gloire il ne sera pas comparable, car moi avec les anges je me tiens

⁸et [ma] gloire est avec les fils du Roi. Je ne me suis pas fait de couronne avec de l'or (fin), et l'or des Ophîrs ne compte pas]

⁹pour moi, ni le cramoi[si ne compte pour moi. Jouez de la musique, ô bien-aimés. Chantez le Roi de Gloire.]

¹⁰Réjouiss[ez-vous dans la congrégation de Dieu. Éclatez de joie dans les tentes du salut. Louez dans la demeure de sainteté.]

¹¹Exult[ez en communion de l'armée éternelle. Rapportez grandeur à notre Dieu et gloire à notre Roi. Sanctifiez]

¹²Son] n[om avec des lèvres puissantes et un langage de victoire. Élevez à l'unisson votre voix en tous temps.] ¹³Faites enten[dre un cri de joie. Jubilez en réjouissances perpétuelles, et sans cesse chantez]

¹⁴dans une commune [assemblée. *vacat*(?) Bénissez Celui qui fait de magnifiques merveilles et fait connaître la force de son bras, scellant]

¹⁵les mystères et révélant les choses cachées, rele[vant les chancelants et ceux d'entre eux qui tombent, restaurant la conduite de ceux en attente de connaissances

¹⁶et abai]ssant les réunions arrogantes des[fieffés] orgueilleux[, confirmant les secrets du conseil et dressant les plans glorieux de

¹⁷Celui qui juge dans une colère des]t[ructrice, *faisant disparaître l'impie et délivrant le juste* par amour de la justice et dans une abondance de

¹⁸miséricordes. Une faveur il y aura pour tous ses fils fidèles, mais pas de miséricorde pour ceux qui déniaient Sa grande bonté,

¹⁹et une source de bénédictions a été ouverte pour les...

²⁰... *sur* ... a cessé l'impiété

²¹... *et a disparu* l'inquiétude, l'opresseur a cédé

²²dans l'indignation, ... a pris fin la trahison, et il n'y a pas de perversités par ignorance.

²³Est apparue la lumière et la joie se répand, a cessé le deuil et s'est enfuie l'affliction. La paix est apparue,

²⁴l'effroi a cessé, a été ouverte une source pour la bénédiction perpétuelle, et la guérison pour tous les temps éternels. A disparu]

²⁵l'iniquité, la plaie [a cicatrisé sans maladie, a cessé *l'injustice* et de culpabilité il n'y aura] ²⁶plus. Procla[mez] et dite[s : Grand est Dieu qui agit *merveilleusement*, parce qu'Il a abaissé l'arrogance]

²⁷altière sans aucun reste, Il a élé[vé le pauvre de la poussière à une *hauteur éternelle*, et jusqu'aux nues]

²⁸Il le fortifie en stature, en compagnie [des anges dans une congrégation commune. Et Il a réfréné *l'ardeur de* la colère pour une destruction]

²⁹éternelle. Et ceux qui trébuchent à terre Il relè[ve sans frais. Aussi un courage *durable accompagne* leur marche,

³⁰ainsi qu'une joie éternelle dans leurs fondations[, une gloire perpétuelle, sans interruption *pour les siècles à jamais*.]

^{31a}[Ils diront : Béni soit Dieu qui opère de glorieuses merveilles, qui magnifie]

³¹{en montrant la vaillance} et qui agit en justice[en connaissance de toutes Ses œuvres et Il est bon à leur égard,]

³²de sorte qu'ils reconnaissent l'abondance de Ses grâces[et la richesse de Ses miséricordes pour tous Ses fils fidèles. Nous t'avons connu]

³³Dieu juste, et nous avons compris [Ta] fi[délité, Roi de gloire, parce que nous avons vu Ton zèle]

³⁴dans une force puissante, et nous avons reconnu[*Tes jugements dans la richesse* des miséricordes et en accordant merveilleusement les pardons.]

³⁵Qu'est-ce que la chair face à ces choses ? Et combien[sont prises en considération *la poussière et la cendre* pour raconter ces choses à chaque instant]

³⁶et pour se tenir en posture[*en Ta présence et pour entrer en communion avec* les fils des cieux, sans interprète]

³⁷pour répondre à la parole de Ta bouche. [... pour Toi, parce que Tu nous as établis]

³⁸selon T[a volo]nté dans la justice de[Tes] ju[gements pour ... Et nous gardons la force pour entendre]

³⁹Tes[merveilles] comme cel[les-ci... Nous te parlons, mais pas]

⁴⁰[à un intermédiaire, *car n'est pas montée d'infamie à notre bouche ni aucune* tromperie de ce qui sort]

⁴¹[de nos lèvres. Faites entendre *et proclamez : Béni soit le Dieu des connaissances qui* déploie les cieux par Sa puissance]

⁴²[et fixe toutes leurs organisations par Sa force, (qui) fait la terre par Sa vaillance, ...

XXVII 1–3/5(?)[...]

Notes de lecture :

– Ligne 34 : La lecture des restes de 1QH^a XXV frg. 7 i est assurée par de bonnes reproductions (négatif 4311). 4Q427 II 18 lit {שיר} [למשכיל] [מזמור] שיר ל[הודיע]. (47) Pour la phraséologie, voir 1QH^a IX 31–32. La largeur de la col. XXV est de *ca* 13 cm.

– Ligne 35 : Lire כִּיָּא, et בּוּ מַלְכִּי קִדָּם, lectures assurées. (48) Une restauration de la lacune est en partie possible avec 4Q491 11 5, voir Is 19,11 et Ps 132,11–12.

(47) Voir Puech, « Un hymne d'action de grâce », 443–47. Qimron, *Hebrew Writings*, 1:101, ne lit que]...כה. en fin de ligne, tout comme déjà l'édition Stegemann *et al.*, *1QHodayot*^a, 290 et 296.

(48) À la suite de Wise, « Study of 4Q491c », 204, Qimron, *Hebrew Writings*, 1:101, place ici le frg. 47, mais le joint est exclu. Stegemann *et al.*, *1QHodayot*^a, 290 et 296, ne lisent pas la préposition.

et 4Q491 11 10 a (57), בני המלך מי יגודני בפתחי פי ומול] שפתי מי יכיל מי] בלשון וּמִיָּא יגוד[ו]ני בפת[חי פִּיא וּמִזֹּל שפתי מי יכיל וּמִיָּא la séquence.

– Ligne 6 : À compléter avec 4Q427 III 9–10 et 4Q431 I 18. (58) L'expression המלך ידיד est unique à Qumrân, à comparer à ידיד יהוה en 4Q522 9 ii 8 appliquée au prêtre et au roi, à Lévi en 4Q379 1 2, et ידיד אל du *Testament de Lévi* § 83,9, le personnage se dit « compagnon pour les saints ».

– Ligne 7 : À compléter avec 4Q427 III 11, 4Q431 I 19 et 4Q491 11 11. (59)

– Ligne 8 : À compléter avec 4Q491 11 11, 4Q427 III 12 et 4Q431 I 20. (60)

– Ligne 9 : À restaurer en partie avec 4Q427 III 13 et 4Q431 I 21, (61) en notant dans ces deux copies l'absence de *vacat*, de même en 1QH^a XXVI 9, contrairement à 4Q491 11 12. Sans coupure, le 'bien-aimé du Roi' s'adresse à ses condisciples, comme lui des 'bien-aimés'.

– Ligne 10 : À compléter avec 4Q427 III 14 et 4Q491 11 12–13, en notant la lecture unique (fautive ?) en [הרנינו צדיקים באלוהי] et la forme הקודש en 4Q491 11 13 et 4Q427 III 15 exigée par l'espace correspondant à celui de la ligne 16. (62)

– Ligne 11 : À compléter avec 4Q427 III 15–16.

– Ligne 12 : À compléter avec 4Q427 III 16–17.

– Ligne 13 : À compléter avec 4Q427 III 17–18 et 4Q491 11 14. (63)

– Ligne 14 : À compléter avec 4Q427 III 18–19, en notant sans doute un court *vacat*(?).

– Ligne 15 : À compléter avec 4Q427 III 19–20. (64)

– Ligne 16 : À compléter avec 4Q427 III 20–21, (65) voir 4Q437 6 1 מו[מז]מות כבוד 13 ii 3 4Q402, ברו סוד פל[אכ]ה.

(57) Qimron, *Hebrew Writings*, 1:108, ne lit pas la trace à la cassure qui peut être *alef* ou *'aïn*.

(58) Qimron, *Hebrew Writings*, 1:102, restaure 4Q427 7 10 d'après 4Q491 11 10 [ידמה במשפטי כי אני ידיד המ]לך, mais trop long pour l'espace à moins d'une correction. On ne peut suivre les explications ni la traduction de Stegemann *et al.*, *1QHodayot*^a, 302, au sujet de יעדני.

(59) Qimron, *Hebrew Writings*, 1:102, restaure 4Q427 7 11 [ובי כול רע ולכבו]די, mais un peu court, Puech, « L'hymne de la glorification », 380–81 proposait *אדם* *בי בן אדם* et du même et Puech, « Un hymne d'action de grâce », p. 443, (?) *בי כול יריב* [קודש], lire peut-être pour l'espace *איש ולכבו]די* *ולכבו]די*.

(60) 4Q431 I 20 a une variante *בי דמה*.

(61) Qimron, *Hebrew Writings*, 1:102 et 108, lit *וזהב וכסף* [יבוא] *בי זהב וכסף*, mais la lecture *בי והשני לוא יחשב* en 1QH^a XXVI 9 est certaine, bien que non lue par Stegemann *et al.*, *1QHodayot*^a, 298 et 303. García Martínez and Tigchelaar, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition*, 896, proposent en 4Q427 III 11 *לוא/שמו בי*, puis en 13–14 *למלך/לכבוד*.

(62) Malgré Qimron, *Hebrew Writings*, 1:102, lisant *קודש* *קודש*, ainsi que Stegemann *et al.*, *1QHodayot*^a, 298 et 303. García Martínez and Tigchelaar, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition*, 896, lisent ligne 14, *באהל* et ligne 15, *קודש*.

(63) Stegemann *et al.*, *1QHodayot*^a, 298 et 303s, restaurent *השתחו* lu incorrectement en 4Q427 III 18, et García Martínez and Tigchelaar, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition*, 896, ont lu *השתחו*.

(64) García Martínez and Tigchelaar, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition*, 896, lisent *להשי]ב*.

(65) García Martínez and Tigchelaar, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition*, 896, lisent *פלה]אות* *פלה]אות*, suivis par Stegemann *et al.*, *1QHodayot*^a, 298 et 304,

- Ligne 17 : À compléter en partie avec 4Q427 III 21–22. La restauration $\text{לְהַחֲזִיק בְּרִשְׁעוֹ וְלִהְיוֹת בְּיָדָיו}$ poursuit les oppositions pour le jugement divin.
- Lignes 18–19 : À compléter avec 4Q427 III 22–23 et IV 1, (66) voir 4Q427 8 i 18 et 4Q431 II 16. Voir ligne 24.
- Ligne 20 : Ici devraient prendre place quelques restes de 4Q427 IV 1 et 4Q431 II 12. Dans cette longue lacune, devait sans doute être précisée la source de bénédiction dont l’auteur est médiateur pour ses condisciples. Comprendre peut-être $\text{עַל עֲדַת הַקֹּדֶשׁ}$.
- Ligne 21 : À placer ici des restes de 4Q427 IV 3 et de 4Q431 II 13, (67) voir Is 14,4 une expression rare.
- Ligne 22 : À compléter en partie avec 4Q427 IV 4 et 4Q431 II 14.
- Ligne 23 : À compléter avec 4Q427 IV 4–5 et 4Q431 II 14–15. (68)
- Ligne 24 : À compléter avec 4Q427 IV 5–6 et 4Q431 II 15–16.
- Ligne 25 : À compléter avec 4Q427 IV 6–7 et 4Q431 II 16–17. (69)
- Ligne 26 : À compléter en grande partie avec 4Q427 IV 7–8 et 4Q431 II 17. (70)
- Ligne 27 : À compléter en grande partie avec 4Q427 IV 8–9 et 4Q431 II 18–19. (71)
- Ligne 28 : À compléter en grande partie avec 4Q427 IV 9–10 et 4Q431 II 19–20. (72)

et Qimron, *Hebrew Writings*, 1:102 mais הַיָּד est impossible ainsi que פִּלְאוֹת , tête de *he* exclue, trace de *dalet*, et ensuite bons restes de *mem* non de *alef* sans jambage de droite et sans traces de *lamed* (PAM 41.911, 42.833, 43.532, B-299232/34), voir Puech, « Un hymne d’action de grâce », 443 et 452.

(66) Voir Puech, « Un hymne d’action de grâce », 443–44 et 452, en corrigeant une proposition de restauration en 4Q431 II 10. Qimron, *Hebrew Writings*, 1:102 lit לְמַפְרֹד . Les auteurs ne proposent aucune restauration des lignes 18–19.

(67) García Martínez and Tigchelaar, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition*, 896, lisent מִן־רַהֲבָה .

(68) Stegemann *et al.*, *IQHodayot*^a, 299 et 305, restaurent אָבֵד , et Qimron, *Hebrew Writings*, 1:104, בִּלָּה , mais il y a des traces du pied du *taw* (B-364420), voir Puech, « L’hymne de la glorification », 394, pour les espaces largement suffisants. García Martínez and Tigchelaar, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition*, 896, ont lu $\text{וְשִׁמְחָה תִּנּוּבָה}$. Pour les promesses eschatologiques attestées ailleurs à Qumrân, voir Puech, « Un hymne d’action de grâce », 453.

(69) En 1QH^a XXVI 25 (= 7 ii 1), il y a de légères traces de lettres des deux premiers mots (négatifs 4271 et 4278). García Martínez and Tigchelaar, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition*, 896, lisent en 4Q427 7 ii 7 לִוְאֵי יִהְיֶה .

(70) 4Q431 II 17 lit וְאִמּוֹר , de même 4Q427 IV 8 avec un court *vacat* ensuite sans trace de grattage. García Martínez and Tigchelaar, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition*, 896, restaurent en 4Q427 7 ii 8 $\text{עֲרִשָּׁה נִפְלְאוֹת}$.

(71) 1QH^a XXVI 27 lit רוּם avec 4Q431 II 18 (qui a un court *vacat* avant le dernier mot, mais 4Q427 IV 8 lit רוּחַ).

(72) 1QH^a XXVI 28 lit יִנְבִּיחַ avec 4Q431 II 18, et 4Q427 IV 8 lit יִנְבִּירָה . À la cassure, ce dernier lit וּרְפָה , *he* assuré (PAM 42.833) avec un jambage vertical sans le petit trait à droite pour *alef* de Qimron, *Hebrew Writings*, 1:104, à la suite de García Martínez and Tigchelaar, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition*, 898, וּרְפָאֵהוּ , et restaurant $\text{וּרְפָאֵהוּ עֲדָרִין}$. Stegemann *et al.*, *IQHodayot*^a, 299 et 305, en restent à וּרְפָאֵה . 4Q431 II 20 lit לִכְנִית (infinitif construit).

- Ligne 29 : À compléter en grande partie avec 4Q427 IV 10–11 et 4Q431 II 20. (73)
 - Ligne 30 : À compléter en grande partie avec 4Q427 IV 11. (74)
 - Ligne 31a : Une phrase omise par homoioarcton a dû être insérée dans l'interligne. (75)
 - Ligne 31 : Le copiste a exponctué {להודיע גבורה} alors que 4Q427 IV 12 lit להופיע גבורה de graphie et de sens proches mais non exponctué. Puis la lecture [ומצדיק] est assurée à l'aide de reproductions agrandies (négatif 4311). (76)
 - Ligne 32 : À compléter en grande partie avec 4Q427 IV 13–14.
 - Ligne 33 : À compléter en grande partie avec 4Q427 IV 14–15. (77)
 - Ligne 34 : À compléter en grande partie avec 4Q427 IV 15–16. (78)
 - Ligne 35 : À compléter en grande partie avec 4Q427 IV 16–17. (79)
- voir 1QH^a XVIII 7, etc.
- Ligne 36 : À compléter en grande partie avec 4Q427 IV 17–18. (80)
 - Ligne 37 : À compléter partiellement avec 4Q427 IV 18–19. (81)

(73) 1QH^a XXVI 28 lit וכוּי־שלי avec 4Q431 II 20, alors que 4Q427 IV 10 est précédé d'un court *vacat*. García Martínez et Tigchelaar, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition*, 898, lisent [ונב־ורת עולם] בצעדם; et Qimron, *Hebrew Writings*, 1:104, ונב־ורי, qui introduit un thème différent.

(74) 4Q427 IV 11 a le suffixe long במכוניהמה.

(75) La lecture ה[מפ]לי est assurée en 4Q427 IV 12, au lieu de ה[מפ]לא[ן]ת de Qimron, *Hebrew Writings*, 1:104, impossible par les traces et les espaces. García Martínez et Tigchelaar, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition*, 898, lisent ימררו גבורת[ן] ברוך אל ה[עושה] ה[נפ]לא[ן]ת.

(76) Malgré les remarques de Qimron, *Hebrew Writings*, 1:104, et la lecture טוב est, elle aussi, certaine, non טובו.

(77) Corriger les oublis et fautes de typographie en Puech, « Un hymne d'action de grâce », 444, ligne 10 וכוּשלי, ligne 12 יומרו, ligne 14 לכול et לשכלנו.

(78) 4Q427 IV 15 a le suffixe long גבורתכה, et ligne 16, une correction רחמי[כה] ב. Qimron, *Hebrew Writings*, 1:104, lit [שפטיכה בהמין] ב.

(79) Avec Stegemann *et al.*, *1QHodayot*^a, 299 et 306. Qimron, *Hebrew Writings*, 1:104, veut placer le frg. 48 aux lignes 35–39, mais ce placement est exclu d'abord par sa distance à gauche du frg. 7 ii ne laissant qu'une lacune de *ca* 4 cm, alors que dans cette partie basse du rouleau les lacunes sont de plus en plus grandes (supérieures à 8 cm), et ensuite par la forme même du frg. qui correspond mal à une position aussi basse dans l'enroulement, voir d'autres remarques de Stegemann *et al.*, *1QHodayot*^a, 311. Mais son emplacement se situe au mieux à la col. XXVII, lignes 11–15 correspondant bien aux cassures et à la forme du frg. 46 i–ii, voir aussi celles du frg. 9, et non à la col. XXVIII de Stegemann qui y place les frgs 61–62 joints par Carmignac, à placer ailleurs. Ces restes qui rappellent de près le langage de l'hymne 1QH^a XXVI ne devraient pas lui être joints, puisque en 4Q427 V un autre hymne est attesté aux lignes 6 ss. Mais l'hymne suivant en 1QH^a XXVII qui devait comprendre aussi le frg. 53 est d'un type similaire.

(80) En 1QH^a XXVI 36, le copiste a d'abord écrit *lamed* (hampe et pied) pour לפני, puis peut-être 'aïn pour (?) עמ, avant de corriger par dessus un *bet* ramassé. Le reste du *lamed* avant correction conforte la restauration ensuite de לפניכה. La restauration de Qimron, *Hebrew Writings*, 1:104, avec le frg. 48 n'est certainement pas à retenir en 4Q427 IV 17.

(81) Sur le frg. 1QH^a 7 ii 18, lire certainement פִּיכָה, sans *kaf* (lecture de Stegemann *et al.*, *1QHodayot*^a, 299 et 307), suivi à la cassure d'une lettre à jambage et base à angle droit, *bet* ou *mem* les plus vraisemblables, mais *waw* est exclu. Lecture retenue par

– Ligne 38 : Cette ligne a quelques recoupements avec 4Q427 IV 19–20a et 4Q428 21 1. (82) Voir aussi 1QH^a VI 20 et XX 23.

– Ligne 39 : Des traces de lettres du frg. 7 ii et des restes de 4Q427 IV 20a–20 et 21, et de 4Q428 21 2 permettent de lire une partie de cette ligne. (83)

– Ligne 40 : La ligne en partie restaurée avec des restes de 4Q427 IV 21–22 et de 4Q428 21 3–4, puis avec des parallèles en *IQS* X 22 // 4Q260 V 3 et 4Q511 18 5. (84)

– Ligne 41 : Ligne à restaurer avec des restes de 4Q427 IV 22–23 et de 4Q428 21 4–5. (85) Ici semble commencer la doxologie à la fin de l'hymne.

– Ligne 42 : Ligne à restaurer avec des restes de 4Q427 IV 23 et de 4Q428 21 5.

La fin de l'hymne devait comprendre quelque trois(?) lignes (ou plus) à la col. XXVII, voir 4Q427 V.

Après avoir tenté de récupérer des textes les plus complets possible dans l'état présent de la documentation (quoi qu'il en soit de restaurations pour un texte suivi), il est clair que la copie 1QH^a XXV–XXVII est une copie de l'hymne retrouvé dans les trois autres copies parallèles : 4Q427 II–V, 4Q428 21 et 4Q431 I–III, aux variantes textuelles minimales. 4Q428 est la plus ancienne copie, *ca* le premier quart du 1^{er} s. av. J.-C., et les autres sont datées *ca* le milieu et la deuxième moitié du 1^{er} s. av. J.-C., les corrections et exonctuations, l'écriture pleine dans l'ensemble, parfois avec les suffixes longs, et de courts *vacat*(?) différemment répartis n'excèdent pas, dans ces copies d'une même composition, ce qui est assez fréquent ailleurs en critique textuelle. Comme les maigres fragments de 4Q428 portent plusieurs corrections (deux mots barrés d'une dittographie en 4 1, un ajout en 12 i 3), il est clair que le rouleau est lui aussi une copie d'une composition antérieure, très vraisemblablement de la deuxième moitié du 2^e s. av. J.-C. Il est alors possible de comparer cet hymne avec celui de 4Q491 11, 12 et 23. (86)

Qimron, *Hebrew Writings*, 1:104, et Puech, « Un hymne d'action de grâce », 444. García Martínez and Tigchelaar, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition*, 898, restaurent ... דבר ב.]

(82) La lecture מִשְׁפָּחַת בְּצִדְקָתָא [וְנִכְחָה בְּצִדְקָתָא] est lisible sur des agrandissements contrastés du frg. 7 ii (négatif 4311), s'opposant au placement du frg. 48 de Qimron, *Hebrew Writings*, 1:104.

(83) En 1QH^a frg. 7 ii, le copiste a écrit]נְפִלְאוֹת[יכָה] en exonctuant les trois dernières lettres, et de même le copiste de 4Q427 IV qui a ajouté dans l'interligne 20a]נְפִלְאוֹת יכָה] et qui a aussi exonctué {לְהַשִּׁיב לָכֶה} à la ligne 20. Stegemann *et al.*, *IQHodayot*^a, 299 et 307, n'ont pas lu ces restes en 1QH^a, ni Qimron, *Hebrew Writings*, 1:104, où les points d'exonctuation sont absents ou sans aucune logique.

(84) Voir Qimron, *Hebrew Writings*, 1:104. Mais les lectures אֲחִין לְמוֹצָא et הַיְתִיתָה אֲחִין לְמוֹצָא de Stegemann *et al.*, *IQHodayot*^a, 299 et 307, en 4Q427 IV 22 sont exclues, lecture déjà de García Martínez and Tigchelaar, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition*, 898, mais la lecture אֲחִין עַל מוֹצָא est assurée.

(85) Stegemann *et al.*, *IQHodayot*^a, 299 et 307, proposent de restaurer אֵל עֲלִיין, mais אֵל הַדְּעוֹת est préférable qui renvoie en forme d'inclusion à XXV 34, la première ligne de l'hymne, à moins de lire אֵל עֲלִיין déjà au début de l'hymne. Corriger la faute de typographie en Puech, « Un hymne d'action de grâce », 444, ligne 22 שְׁפָתֵינוּ.

(86) Doivent être révisés et précisés les parallèles notés par Dimant, « A Synoptic Comparison », 157–59; Eshel, « 4Q471B », 190, et même Eileen Schuller, « A Hymn from a Cave Four Hodayot Manuscript: 4Q427 7 i + ii », *JBL* 112 (1993): 605–28 (626).

3 – Les hymnes de 4Q491 11(–12 et 23) et de 1QH^a XXV 34–XXVII 3/5(?) et ses parallèles

En 4Q491 11(–12 et 23), manquent le début et la fin du texte (87) pour définir son statut précis contrairement à 1QH^a XXV 34–XXVII 3 // 4Q427 (//4Q428 et 4Q431) : ‘Pour l’instructeur, Psaume, Cantique’. (88) Si en 4Q427 l’hymne vient en deuxième position dans le rouleau, il est situé vers la fin en 1QH^a et de même déjà dans la plus ancienne copie 4Q428, ce qui a son importance pour sa composition et son origine. En 4Q431 l’hymne commence une feuille, probablement la première du rouleau. Toutefois les deux types de composition en font un hymne célébrant une victoire, celle de Dieu sauveur par ses actes de vaillance pour un individu particulier et son groupe dans un retournement de situations en leur faveur. Dieu occupe la place centrale dans ces copies, en révélant la connaissance des mystères divins d’abord à un individu unique, un interprète choisi pour son groupe, ensuite l’intermédiaire n’est plus utile, comme le précisent l’hymne 1QH^a et les parallèles. (89) Dans les deux compositions, l’auteur est l’objet d’une glorification céleste, promise aussi à sa communauté dans la mesure de la fidélité de chacun de ses membres, jouissant de faveurs divines en compagnie des ‘anges’ (אֱלִיִּים), contrairement à l’arrogant qui veut se passer de Dieu et qui sera jugé sévèrement. Mais ‘l’Instructeur’ des *Hymnes* n’est autre que l’auteur comme le rappelle 1QH^a XX 14 après le titre en XX 7, désignant respectivement le Maître et après lui un de ses successeurs dans la Communauté dans les deux formes de l’hymne.

Dans leur état présent, la comparaison du vocabulaire des deux types de composition ne porte que sur une vingtaine de lignes, les premières en 1QH^a XXV 35 [38–39] à XXVI 13, mais où des expressions ou membres de phrases avec des variantes parfois importantes sont disposés différemment. Il ne s’agit donc pas d’une copie d’un même texte, mais de deux compositions d’inspiration commune, rédigées soit par un même auteur ou par le Maître en 4Q491 11 et un des disciples/successeurs dans l’autre cas. Il est remarquable qu’en 4Q491 11 12 un

(87) Excepté pour ceux qui voient en 4Q491 11 deux hymnes distincts, dans ce cas la fin du premier et le début du second sont connus.

(88) Formule qu’on retrouve en début d’hymnes en 1QH^a V 12, frg. 10 11, XX 4 et XXV 34.

(89) En 1QH^a X 15–16.33, XII 2.10, XIV 16–17.22, XXIII 12 et XXVI 36–37, le mot מְלִיץ désigne toujours un interprète humain intermédiaire entre le monde divin et les hommes. Après avoir accompli sa mission, l’instructeur affirme que la médiation du מְלִיץ n’est plus nécessaire. Cela semble définir le rôle du Maître authentique מוֹרֵה הַדָּבָר, interprète autorisé des mystères divins (Loi et Prophètes), titre utilisé en CD et les *Pesharim* avec mention de persécutions de la part des ennemis, et le rôle de l’instructeur ensuite rappelant à la Communauté qu’il est celui qui leur a ouvert la fontaine de connaissance des mystères. Le Maître est le nouveau Moïse parfois désigné par ce mot : 4Q368 3 et 4Q374 7.

long *vacat* sépare deux parties distinctes de la composition, qui passe sans *vacat* de la troisième personne du pluriel (90) à la première personne du singulier dans la première partie, puis à la deuxième personne du pluriel après le *vacat*. Une coupure aussi nette en deux strophes est absente dans toutes les autres copies, 1QH^a et les parallèles, tout en utilisant dans ces lignes un vocabulaire et une phraséologie similaires ou très proches, et en poursuivant avec les deuxième, troisième et première personne du pluriel pour en faire un seul et même hymne. (91) Ainsi après que le Maître eut accompli sa mission en 1QH^a, l'instructeur peut affirmer que sa médiation d'interprète des mystères divins ayant pris fin, il n'est plus dès lors besoin d'un interprète. Cela semble définir d'une part le rôle du Maître authentique, l'interprète autorisé des mystères divins et, d'autre part, le rôle de l'instructeur qui rappelle à la Communauté que le Maître est bien celui qui leur a ouvert la fontaine de bénédictions et des connaissances des mystères cachés. Aurait-on là un moyen d'identifier l'hymne de 1QH^a et parallèles comme une composition liturgique, un hymne de la Communauté (92) s'inspirant d'une composition du Maître dans une autre circonstance, celle de 4Q491 11, 12 et 23 ? Iraient dans ce sens en 4Q491 11 4–5, le trône céleste destiné aux parfaits de conduite, mais sur lequel siège désormais l'auteur (Maître) en 1QH^a XXV 35–36, des séquences totalement différentes dans ces deux compositions, ou encore de simples transpositions, *e.g.*, en 4Q491 11 9–10 *והוריה נשניתי והוריה לוא תדמה בהוריתי* et en 1QH^a XXVI 3–4 *והוריה נשניתי לוא תדמה בהוריתי*, donnant une antériorité à la première formulation sur la reprise par l'instructeur. (93) Les reformulations supposent la mort du Maître intronisé dans la gloire, alors que l'auteur de 4Q491 11 écrit de son vivant comme le destinataire des révélations divines pour 'les justes/les pauvres' de sa communauté. Il peut 'rire de ses peines' (4Q491 11 9), il est cause de mépris de la part de ses opposants, mais Dieu lui a donné la victoire sur son/ses ennemi(s).

Le personnage écrivant à la première personne n'est autre que le Maître d'un groupe, la Communauté des parfaits qui adhèrent à ses

(90) Ce pluriel ne désigne pas nécessairement la communauté eschatologique lors de la bataille finale, voir García Martínez, « Old Texts and Modern Mirages », 119, mais les *צדיקים, קדושים, ועצת אביונים*.

(91) Non deux comme il est généralement indiqué, voir, *e.g.*, Wise, « Study of 4Q491c », 193 et 203 ('two canticles ran continuously'), et un seul en 1QH^a. La division de Baillet en deux cantiques est retenue.

(92) Cela expliquerait que 4Q427 ne regroupe que des hymnes de la Communauté, voir Eileen Schuller, « Some Contributions of the Cave Four Manuscripts (4Q427–432) to the Study of the Hodayat », *DSD* 8 (2001): 278–87 (283).

(93) Voir Wise, « Study of 4Q491c », 214, les deux hymnes ensuite réunis en un seul, contrairement à Eshel, « 4Q471B », 201.

instructions, à qui Dieu a révélé décrets et jugements, comme il apparaît dans la première partie en 4Q491 11. Il demande, de son vivant au 'conseil des pauvres établi en congrégation éternelle' en compagnie des 'anges', de louer Dieu pour la promesse de Ses merveilles en leur faveur de 'les faire asseoir sur un trône de gloire dans l'assemblée des anges' (lignes 1–5), louange qui occupe les premières lignes de la deuxième partie, lignes 12 ss. Même si la fin de l'hymne est inconnue, le Maître est dans une situation intouchable et enviable, qu'aucun opposant ne peut lui ravir, même dans le mépris. Son enseignement dépasse celui qu'il a reçu, tant celui-ci est nouveau et sans comparaison, et tant son jugement est indiscutable et fondé sur des révélations célestes dont il a été bénéficiaire. Cette expérience propre, tel Moïse le prophète oint et messenger (voir Ex 4,12 *וְאֶנֶכִי אֱהִיָּה עִם פִּיךָ וְהוֹרִיתִיךָ אֲשֶׁר תְּדַבֵּר*, et l'Excursus, *infra*) au visage glorieux quand il voyait Dieu face à face, lui a permis de traverser bien des malheurs et des mépris. En conséquence, son désir n'est pas selon la chair, ni dans le pouvoir et la richesse, il a fait une autre expérience, il tient sa gloire de l'espérance 'd'être compté avec les fils du Roi, et de résider dans la congrégation sainte en compagnie des anges', une fois intronisé dans la gloire divine. Cette révélation et l'expérience personnelle l'ont confirmé dans sa mission auprès de ses disciples, les assurant de cette même espérance s'ils persévèrent eux aussi dans le chemin de perfection (4Q491 11 4–5). Ce personnage dans la compagnie des 'anges' ne peut être une figure angélique qui, par nature, ne souffre pas, ne reçoit pas d'enseignement, n'est pas intronisé ni ne peut être élevé de la poussière jusqu'à une hauteur éternelle. Une telle espérance d'exaltation-intronisation céleste comme récompense du juste et du Maître en premier, suppose la croyance à la résurrection du juste (voir Lc 20,35–36) et au châtement du méchant, croyance exprimée ailleurs dans les manuscrits. (94) Il est intéressant de noter que 1QH^a XXVI finit par un rappel de l'acte créateur, tout

(94) Pour une récente mise au point, voir Emile Puech, « Les Esséniens et la croyance à la résurrection : de l'eschatologie zoroastrienne aux notices de Josèphe et d'Hippolyte », dans *Sibyls, Scriptures, and Scrolls: John Collins at Seventy* (ed. Joel Baden, Hindy Najman, and Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar; 2 vols; JSJS 175; Leiden: Brill, 2017), 2:1068–95. La position de John J. Collins, « Metaphor and Eschatology: Life beyond Death in the Hodayot », dans *Is There a Text in this Cave? Studies in the Textuality of the Dead Sea Scrolls in Honour of George J. Brooke* (ed. Ariel Feldman, Maria Cioată, and Charlotte Hempel; STDJ 119, Leiden: Brill, 2017), 407–22, minimise au maximum l'apport des textes pour coller au plus près à la notice (déformante) de Flavien Josèphe. Voir dernièrement Casey D. Elledge, *Resurrection of the Dead in Early Judaism 200 BCE–CE 200* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), spécialement pp. 150–74, même si on peut y ajouter d'autres passages de compositions qumraniennes. La résurrection n'est pas une revivification mais une transformation en gloire du juste essénien dans la vie éternelle.

comme dans le *credo* en 4Q521 7+5 ii celui-ci précède la mention de la récréation et de la résurrection des justes et du jugement-punition des méchants. Faire appel au langage liturgique ou à la célébration communautaire pour expliquer cette compagnie angélique, selon certains commentateurs, est nettement insuffisant, me semble-t-il. L'auteur est conscient de vivre dans une situation terrestre au milieu de multiples dangers, et il ne recevra cette récompense eschatologique que lors de la Visite divine s'il est fidèle jusqu'à la fin de sa vie. Dans un style déclaratif proche du discours des prophètes (voir Is 40–55), l'auteur de 4Q491 11 8–11 avec ses sept questions rhétoriques à la première personne (davantage encore en 1QH^a XXV 38–XXVI 9, ce qui confirme encore une fois une reprise rédactionnelle) semble s'inspirer de près d'Is 50,8–11, il se justifie à l'image du Serviteur qui enseigne, est méprisé, souffre et sera élevé, exalté, honoré (voir Is 49,2 ; 50,4 ; 52,13–53,12, avec un vocabulaire proche), mais sans jamais s'attribuer une œuvre salvifique ; il montre uniquement la voie à suivre pour hériter ce trône de gloire éternelle en compagnie des anges. (95) Ce personnage ne peut être que le Maître identifié à la figure eschatologique du prêtre-prophète, interprète authentique de la Loi. (96)

Le 'Psaume-Cantique' de 1QH^a XXV 34–XXVII 3/5(?) et parallèles reprend cet enseignement et cette assurance du Maître au cours de son existence depuis la fondation de la Communauté, en butte à diverses adversités (XXVI 2–3, comme le Serviteur d'Is 53,3), mais sorti victorieux grâce à l'abondance des miséricordes divines et de l'agir merveilleux de Dieu à son égard. De là découlent la joie et l'action de grâce continues des fidèles pour cette victoire sur les forces opposées du passé récent qui assure leur démarche présente et confirme leur espérance. Ils ont vu l'action divine en œuvre durant la vie du Maître qui leur a fait connaître les mystères cachés à lui révélés, tel le nouveau prophète (nouveau Moïse, voir 4Q175 1–8), (97) et ils n'ont plus besoin d'un autre intermédiaire humain dans leur rapport avec le monde divin. Il est probable que cet hymne-psaume (1QH^a et parallèles) directement inspiré d'un hymne de victoire du Maître (dont 4Q491 est une copie), soit l'œuvre d'un disciple, l'instructeur qui lui a succédé. (98) Dans ces

(95) Ce point a été souligné en particulier par Blenkinsopp, « The Servant of the Lord », 45–49.

(96) Voir Puech, « L'hymne de la glorification », 397–407.

(97) À ce propos, on rapprochera ce que 4Q175 1–8 écrit au sujet du nouveau prophète comme Moïse parlant de la bouche de Dieu et ce que 4Q377 2 ii écrit au sujet de Moïse, l'oint qui a transmis au peuple les commandements de Dieu et la malédiction de celui qui n'observera pas ses paroles (voir excursus ci-après). Le rapprochement appuie l'identification du Maître au prophète attendu.

(98) Mais pour l'antériorité de 1QH^a et //, voir Eshel, « 4Q471B », 201.

lignes, transparaît aussi une accusation du pouvoir hasmonéen dans la restauration de la 'royauté', de la gloire usurpée du trône par un grand-prêtre – roi illégitime, du pouvoir de l'argent, des habits somptueux signes d'une gloire terrestre et passagère depuis Jonathan Maccabée et ses successeurs (voir 1 M 10,20–21.62.64–65.88–89 ; 11,24.58 ; 14,43 ; 15,32) que Dieu jugera sévèrement (voir déjà la mise en garde du Maître dans l'*Épiloque* de 4QMMT), (99) alors que le Maître et ses disciples sont promis à une gloire éternelle, de siéger sur un trône de gloire (déjà Ps 110,1, et aussi 4Q521 2 ii 7), comme s'ils avaient suivi la sagesse de Salomon (1 R 3,9–13 // 2 Ch 1,10–12). Par l'emploi de quelques formules spécifiques comme כִּי־אֲנִי יְדִיד הַמֶּלֶךְ, l'auteur/instructeur souligne le rang de grand-prêtre du Maître, 'le bien-aimé du Roi', tels Aaron et Lévi, ancêtres du sacerdoce qualifiés aussi de l'expression יְדִיד אֱלֹהִים. (100) La plantation éternelle qu'il a fondée (1QS XI 7–9) est associée pendant leur cheminement dans la perfection (les membres sont aussi des יְדִידִים) à la compagnie des 'anges' qui veillent sur elle en attendant la pleine réalisation dans la gloire, comme l'annonçait Dn 12,1–3. Il ne s'agit ni de déification ou d'une 'angélolisation' du juste ou du Maître lors du jugement ou dans la liturgie, une sorte d'eschatologie réalisée, (101) mais de chanter déjà dans la foi et l'espérance la glorification qui leur est promise en compagnie des 'anges' dans les cieux, comme récompense eschatologique du juste fidèle (1QS IV 6–8.22–23), même concept en Mt 19,8 ; 25,31, Ap 3,21 ; 20,4, 1 Hen 108,12, *Testament de Job* 33,2–9 et 4Q418 69.

Les datations paléographiques des deux types d'hymne supportent elles aussi leur composition (102) dans la deuxième moitié du 2^e s., l'un (celui de 4Q491 11+) par le Maître, et l'autre peu après par un de ses disciples. Une attribution de 4Q491 11 (–12 et 23) à un *Rouleau de la Guerre* par la main du copiste paraît à retenir, (103) et

(99) Voir Emile Puech, « La Lettre essénienne MMT dans le manuscrit 4Q397 et les parallèles », *RevQ* 27 (2015): 99–135.

(100) Pour Lévi, voir 4Q379 1 2, le *Testament de Lévi* araméen § 83,9, et pour le prêtre et le roi, voir 4Q522 9 ii 8 יְדִיד יְהוָה.

(101) Comme l'écrit Crispin Fletcher-Louis, *All the Glory of Adam: Liturgical Anthropology in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (STDJ 42; Leiden: Brill, 2002), 205–16, et à sa suite Angel, *Otherworldly and Eschatological Priesthood*, 137–46.

(102) Non des recensions différentes d'un même ou de deux cantiques. García Martínez, « Old Texts and Modern Mirages », 115, estime qu'on n'a pas affaire à 'two genetically related compositions. Neither can be explained by the other. Nor can either be explained by an assumed common ancestor'.

(103) Voir A. Steudel, « Dating Exegetical Texts from Qumran », dans *The Dynamics of Language and Exegesis at Qumran* (ed. Devorah Dimant and Reinhard Kratz; FAT 35/2; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2009), 39–53 (44), qui confirme ma position faite indépendamment et sur d'autres critères, et cite une reconstruction matérielle

plusieurs passages en 1QM célèbrent par des hymnes la victoire de la main de Dieu sur les ennemis, (104) d'autant que 4Q491 17 atteste pour la première fois, pour les actions de grâce après la victoire, l'existence d'un ספר התהלים. De deux strophes distinctes en 4Q491 11, l'hymne repris et réécrit par un disciple a été unifié en un texte suivi. Dans les deux types de composition, l'hymne est un cantique d'action de grâce pour l'action merveilleuse de Dieu en faveur du Maître et de la Communauté et un acte de foi dans le présent et d'espérance dans le futur eschatologique. Il n'est pas à proprement parler un exemple de messianisme collectif, (105) ni question du grand prêtre eschatologique, (106) mais du Maître et de sa Communauté, le grand prêtre et prophète persécuté, nouveau Moïse, lui aussi Son consacré, auquel renvoie 4Q175 en rappelant la première étape de l'intervention salvifique de Dieu pour ses fidèles à la fin du 2^e s. avant J.-C. (107)

Excursus : Édition révisée du fragment exaltant Moïse glorifié sur la montagne du Sinaï, lorsque Dieu lui a dicté les commandements.

– 4Q377 2 ii : La glorification de Moïse au Sinaï : (108)

en cours du rouleau qui comprendrait le frg. 11. García Martínez, « Old Texts and Modern Mirages », rattache aussi 4Q491 11 au *Rouleau de la Guerre*. Cet hymne, même quelque peu différent de ceux qui jalonnent 1QM, pourrait prendre place à la fin du rouleau.

(104) Voir aussi la graphie particulière de מִיָּא bien attestée en 1QM et unique-ment 3 fois ailleurs en 4Q301 2 3–4, et 4Q511 2 ii 6, jamais dans les *Hymnes*. De même la mention très fréquente du mot et de l'expression אֵל יִשְׂרָאֵל en 1QM, et totalement absente dans les *Hymnes* en l'état présent hors la restauration en 1QH^a XXV 36, ou encore בְּעֵדַת אֱלֹהִים en 1QM I 10. Mais il est difficile de voir dans 'la figure céleste' de 4Q491 11 l'archange Michel qui parle à la première personne, comme l'estime expressément García Martínez, « Old Texts and Modern Mirages », 122–23, à la suite de Baillet.

(105) Voir Hartmut Stegemann, « Some Remarks to 1QSa, to 1QSB, and to Qumran Messianism », *RevQ* 17 (1996): 479–505, et Annette Steudel, « The Eternal Reign of the People of God: Collective Expectations in Qumran Texts (4Q246 and 1QM) », *RevQ* 17 (1996): 507–25.

(106) Voir par exemple John J. Collins, *The Scepter and the Star: The Messiahs of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Other Ancient Literature* (ABRL; New York: Doubleday, 1995), 146–49.

(107) Voir E. Puech, « Les manuscrits de Qumrân inspirés du livre de Josué : 4Q378, 4Q379, 4Q175, 4Q522, 5Q9 et Mas1039–211 », *RevQ* 28 (2016): 45–116 (86–90).

(108) Le manuscrit 4Q377 a été publié par James C. VanderKam and Monica Brady, « 4QApocryphal Pentateuch B », dans *Wadi Daliyeh II, and Qumran Cave 4. XXVIII: Miscellanea, Part 2* (DJD 27; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2002), 205–17. Voir Emile Puech, « Le fragment 2 de 4Q377, *Pentateuque Apocryphe B* : L'exaltation de Moïse », *RevQ* 21 (2004): 469–75, Wido van Peursen, « Who was Standing on the Mountain? The Portrait of Moses in 4Q377 », dans *Moses in Biblical and Extra-Biblical Traditions* (ed. Axel Graupner and Michael Wolter; BZAW 372; Berlin: de Gruyter, 2007), 99–113, où sont relevés les passages sources : Ex 19,16–19 ; 20,18–22 ; 24,15–18 ;

1 א[ותותיכה] ומופתיה להכ[י]ן [לב
 2 יבינו בחוקות מושה vacat]
 3 ויען אליברך [וי]אמר שמ[ע]י [עדת יהוה והקשב כול הקהל הגדו[לי]ם] והקטנים
 4 לד[עת המ]צוות [ותשמ[ע] ל]vac. [ו]ארור האיש אשר לוא יעמוד וישמור ויע[ש]
 5 לכול מצ[וות י]הוה בפי מושה משיחו וללכת אחר יהוה אלוהי אבותינו המצ[וה]
 6 לנו מהר סינ[י] vacat[ו] וידבר ע[ם] [קהל ישראל פנים עם אל פנים כאשר ידבר
 7 איש עם רעהו ומר[א]ה תפארתו הראנו באש בעורה ממעלה [מ]שמים vacat
 8 ועל הארץ עמד על ההר להודיע כיא אץ אלוה מבלעדיו ואין צור כמוהו [וכו']
 9 הקהל [והעד[ה]]ענו ורעדוידה אחותם מלפני כבוד אלוהים ומקלות הפלא [וינועו]
 10 ויעמודו מרחוק vacat ומושה איש האלוהים עם אלוהים בענן ויכס
 11 עליו הענן כיא מ[כובד] בהקדשו וכמלאכ ידבר מפיחו כיא מי מבש[ר] כמו פיהו
 12 איש חסדים ויוצ[ר מעש]ים אשר לוא נבראו [ל] מעולם ולעדי עד. [...]חפצנו

Traduction : (109)

⁰ *Ils ont vu tous*

¹[Tes] s[ignes] et Tes prodiges pour affermir [le cœur (de) pour]
²qu'ils comprennent les préceptes de Moïse. vacat []
³Et Élibarek répondit et dit : « Écou[te, congrégation de Yahweh, et
 prête attention, tout l'assemblée, les grands[et les petits],
⁴pour connaître les commandements, et écoute-L[e. va]cat Maudit
 l'homme qui ne persévère pas à garder et à prati[quer]
⁵tous les com[mandements de Ya]hweh par la bouche de Moïse, Son
 consacré, et à suivre Yahweh, le Dieu de nos pères, qu'Il nous a
⁶co[mmandés] depuis la montagne du Sina[i va]cat Et Il parla a[vec]
 l'assemblée d'Israël, face à face, comme un homme parle
⁷avec son compagnon, et Il nous a montré la vision de Sa splendeur
 dans un feu flamboyant en haut [depuis] les cieux. vacat

33,9–11, Dt 4,10–15.33–40 ; 5,4–6.22–27, Ariel Feldman, «The Sinai Revelation according to 4Q377 (Apocryphal Pentateuch B)», *DSD* 18 (2011): 155–72; Qimron, *Hebrew Writings*, 3:143, et Ariel Feldman, «4Q377 (4QApocryphal Pentateuch B)», dans *Scripture and Interpretation: Qumran Texts that Rework the Bible* (ed. Ariel Feldman and Liora Goldman; BZAW 449; Berlin: de Gruyter, 2014), 195–224 (208–18). Depuis ma première étude et d'autres travaux, je donne ici une révision du passage à l'aide des photographies numérisées B-370748/9. Cette copie est datée de la première moitié du 1^{er} s. avant J.-C., contemporaine de plusieurs copies de l'hymne sous ses diverses formes.

(109) À la l. 1, la lecture להכ[י]ן paraît la seule possible. Le nom propre, l. 3, est אליברך, et en fin de ligne est assurée la lecture הגדו[לי]ם [והקטנים]. L. 4, lire au mieux avec des restes [ותשמ[ע] ל]vacat [ו]ארור האיש אשר לוא יעמוד וישמור ויע[ש]. À la l. 9, והעד[ה] : waw a été effacé puis les autres lettres ont été exponctuées, restaurer en fin de ligne avec Ex 20,18b. À la l. 11, lire מ[כובד], et à la fin פיהו [כמו]. L. 12, lire ויוצ[ר מעש]ים, puis lamed exponctué, puis ויעדי עד, et enfin après un mot dans la lacune, חפצנו est possible sinon probable.

⁸Et sur la terre, Il se tint sur la montagne pour faire connaître qu'il n'y a pas de dieu en dehors de Lui, et qu'il n'y a pas de Rocher comme Lui. » [Et toute]

⁹l'assemblée {{et}} de la congrégation} répondit. Et un tremblement les saisit devant la gloire de Dieu et les tonnerres prodigieux, [*et ils tremblèrent*]

¹⁰et ils se tinrent à distance. *vacat* Et Moïse, l'homme de Dieu, (était) avec Dieu dans la nuée, et la nuée

¹¹le recouvrit, parce qu'il fut *g[lorifié]* ayant été sanctifié, et tel un ange, il parlait de Sa bouche, car qui est un message[r] comme Sa bouche,

¹²un homme d'actes pieux et un faiseur[r d'œuvre]s qui n'ont pas été créées {pour} depuis l'éternité et pour toujours et à jamais ? ..[.]nous avons désiré(?)

Émile PUECH
CNRS-Paris & EBAF-Jérusalem

TEXTUAL GROWTH, MIDRASH, AND ANTHROPOLOGY IN CD A 4:12–5:19

Some Aspects of *Ruah* (*ha-*)*Qodesh* and the Self at Qumran and Ancient Christianity

Summary

The article deals with several levels of CD A 4:12–5:19 and related texts. A textual scrutiny of this passage reveals the emergence of textual pluriformity as well as dimensions of the conception of the holy spirit. The author argues that two recensions of the Damascus Document were merged together in this passage. These recensions share the same phraseological framework, but not necessarily the content. It can be demonstrated that CD 5:6–7 and 5:11–12 are two variant elaborations of one biblical passage, Lev 20:25–26. These verses were interpreted as related to the holy spirit dwelling within human beings as if in God's Sanctuary.

The elusive conception of the indwelling holy spirit is discussed. Some dimensions of it are illuminated by passages in Christian and rabbinic literature (including Paul, Hermas, rabbinic midrash, and the *Hebrew Testament of Naphthali*) as well as a tiny Qumran fragment (4Q446 3). The holy spirit in these passages is a liminal entity between the divine and the human self, the component of human beings that belongs to the divine realm, either in related to Adam's creation (Gen 2:7) or to the eschatological recreation (Ezek 36:25–27).

Introduction

“A great deal of scholarly attention has been devoted to attempts at outlining the literary growth of the Admonition of the Damascus Document.” (1) In reading the first part of the Damascus Document (the “Admonition,” best preserved in CD A 1–8, CD B 19–20) one immediately feels the complexity of the

(1) Charlotte Hempel, *The Damascus Texts* (Companion to the Qumran Scrolls; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2000), 44.

text and the various styles and genres (exhortation, history, overt and covert pesharim) interwoven in it. Plausibly, the Damascus Document made use of previous sources; but can these sources be identified? What sentences should be considered as interpolations, insertions, reworking, or the product of redaction activity? These questions are still pending, notwithstanding the many scholarly suggestions, often based on hypotheses and conjectures. (2)

The well-known overlapping passage in CD A 7:9–8:1 and CD B 19:5–13 is a case in which two recensions of the Damascus Document were preserved, as I have tried to demonstrate elsewhere. (3) In this passage, the texts of manuscripts A and B share the same *framework* and *formulae*, notwithstanding the considerable difference in content between them. I argued that the contours of an earlier framework underlying the two recensions can be reconstructed, albeit not the text underlying them. This passage is a spectacular example of textual pluriformity of works composed in the Second Temple period.

In the present article I will endeavor to show that two recensions can be discerned in CD A 4:12–5:19, (4) and that both recensions are built upon a common foundation and share a general textual *framework*. These observations are significant not only for their own sake, but also for the textual study of other Jewish corpora (particularly rabbinic literature).

The present article deals with various aspects of CD A 4:12–5:19. Firstly, I will discuss the growth of this passage and deal with its structure, trying to discern the two recensions combined in it. Secondly, I will deal with the notion of *ruah* (*ha*)-*qodesh*, the holy spirit, (5) that emerges from the textual and midrashic analysis. The holy spirit is perceived in this passage as a pure entity dwelling *within* human beings, (6) liable to defilement by sins. The question what the meaning of the holy spirit in our passage is should be asked, and can to some extent be answered. As we shall see, similar ideas concerning the role of the holy spirit occur in early Christian texts. Finally, I will also deal with a tiny

(2) For a survey of the suggestions see Hempel, *The Damascus Texts*, 44–49. See also below.

(3) Menahem Kister, “The Development of the Early Recensions of the Damascus Document,” *DSD* 14 (2007): 61–76.

(4) Only few words out of this passage are attested in tiny Qumran fragments.

(5) I deliberately refrain from capitalizing these words, because to my mind the dichotomy between “the holy spirit” and “the Holy Spirit” is inadequate for the sources.

(6) On these ideas see John R. Levison, *Filled with the Spirit* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2009). See also recently James L. Kugel, *The Great Shift: Encountering God in Biblical Times* (New York, NY: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 2017), 187–211; 386–90.

fragment of an unknown work from Qumran, in which the holy spirit is God's breath into Adam. I will argue that it sheds new light on the phraseology of the Hodayot.

1. CD 4:12–5:19: Text and Translation

It is not easy to understand the flow of ideas in this passage. Virtually all scholars who have dealt with this passage have struggled with its awkward structure. (7) Many scholars consider some sentences (or units) in it as interpolations or deem them as being misplaced. (8) Due to the length of this passage, I will present it from the outset according to the arrangement that I will justify in the course of the following sections, skipping the stage of transliteration of the text without any interference.

The following text is exactly that of CD A, with the exception of very few emendations of words (between asterisks). In order to facilitate the explanation of the textual growth of this passage in the following sections of the present article, I separated the passage into units and indented some of the units in order to clarify the structure of the passage according to my view. I also added a few punctuation marks and printed some words in bold face. In the English translation I added titles (in parentheses and small font) to every unit. The numbers of the lines in CD A are indicated in subscript.

12 **I** ובכל השנים האלה יהיה ¹³ בליעל משולח בישראל

II כאשר דבר אל ביד ישעיה הנביא בן ¹⁴ אמוץ לאמר פחד ופחת ופח עליך
יושב הארץ (יש' כד 17) פשרו ¹⁵ שלושת מצודות בליעל אשר אמר עליהם
לוי בן יעקב ¹⁶ אשר הוא תפש בהם בישראל ויתנם פניהם לשלושת
מיני ¹⁷ הצדק הראשונה (a) היא הזנות השנית (b) *ההקן* (9) השלישית
(c) ¹⁸ טמא המקדש. העולה מזה יתפש בזה והניצל מזה יתפש ¹⁹ בזה

(7) Hartmut Stegemann, "Die Entstehung der Qumrangemeinde" (Ph.D. diss., University of Bonn, 1971), 150–60.

(8) See below, nn. 34, 43.

(9) Manuscript A reads ההקן. Interchanges of *waw* and *yod* are frequent in this manuscript (probably due to their similarity in the *Vorlage*), and therefore reading ההקן instead of ההק is scarcely an emendation. See Solomon Schechter, *Fragments of a Zadokite Work* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1910), xxxvi, n. 19. This word is attested only in Manuscript A, and so are the other words that I emend below (see above, n. 4). Baumgarten and Schwartz try to retain the reading ההקן and render it "arrogance" (Joseph M. Baumgarten and Daniel R. Schwartz, "Damascus Document," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Hebrew, Aramaic and Greek Texts with English Translations* [ed. James

III בוני *הח'ץ* (10) (יחזקאל יג 10) אשר הלכו אחרי צו (הושע ה 11)—
 הצו הוא מטיף <<הכזב>> (11)
 20 אשר אמר הטף יטיפון (מיכה ב 6)—הם ניתפשים בשמים:

(a1) בזנות לקחת 21 שתי נשים בחייהם
 ויסוד הבריאה זכר ונקבה ברא אותם (בראשית א 27)
 1 ובאי התבה שנים שנים באו אל התבה (בראשית ז 9) ועל הנשיא
 כתוב 2 לא ירבה לו נשים (דברים יז 17) ודויד לא קרא בספר
 התורה החתום אשר 3 היה בארון כי לא נפתח בישראל מיום מות
 אלעזר 4 ויהושע ויושע (12) והזקנים אשר עבדו את העשתרת ויטמון
 5 נגלה עד עמוד צדוק ויעלו מעשי דויד מלבד דם אוריה 6 ויעזבם לו
 אל
 וגם

(c1) מטמאים הם את המקדש אשר אין הם (13) 7 מבדיל כתורה
 ושוכבים עם הרואה את דם זובה (ויקרא טו)

(a2) ולוקחים 8 איש את בת אחיהו ואת בת אחותו
 ומשה אמר אל 9 אחות אמך לא תקרב שאר אמך היא (ויקרא יח 13)
 ומשפט העריות לזכרים 10 הוא כתוב וכהם הנשים ואם תגלה בת האח
 את ערות אחי 11 אביה והיא שאר
 וגם

(2c) את רוח קדשיהם טמאו ובלשון 12 גדופים פתחו פה על חוקי
 ברית אל לאמר לא נכוננו ותועבה

H. Charlesworth; The Princeton Theological Seminary Dead Sea Scrolls Project; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1995], 2:19, 21 n. 45). A noun הין in the sense of "arrogance" is not attested in Hebrew, however (the two other "nets of Belial" include the definite article). Schechter's arguments for the emendation, on the other hand, are still valid and can be supplied by other occurrences of הין in the Dead Sea scrolls.

(10) The Genizah fragment apparently reads החרץ, which no doubt should be emended to הח'ץ (see above, n. 9).

(11) This word should be added. On the phenomenon of omission of letters and words in the medieval copy of CD see Elisha Qimron, "The Riddle of the Missing Text in the Damascus Document," in *Fifty Years of Dead Sea Scrolls Research: Studies in Memory of Jacob Licht* (ed. Gershon Brin & Bilhah Nitzan; Jerusalem: Yad Ben-Zvi, 2001), 244–50 (in Hebrew). See also below, n. 13.

(12) The word ויושע is a doublet of the usual spelling יהושע.

(13) The sentence in manuscript A, אין הם מבדיל כתורה, is impossible Hebrew; it must be corrupt at this point, and should be emended either <<ב>>אין הם מבדיל כתורה or <<ב>>אין הם מבדיל כתורה. The copyist of manuscript A of CD skipped some letters and words, probably because they were damaged in his *Vorlage* (see Qimron, "The Riddle," 244–50). The length of the lacuna in the *Vorlage* of CD A is unknown. Elisha Qimron, *The Dead Sea Scrolls: The Hebrew Writings* [3 vols; Jerusalem: Yad Ben-Zvi, 2010], 1:11) hesitantly suggests the reconstruction <<ב>>אין הם מבדיל לטהור כתורה.

13 הם מדברים במ כלם קדחי אש ומבערי זיקות (ישעיהו נ 11) קורי
 14 עכביש קוריהם וביצי צפעונים ביציהם (ישעיהו נט 5) הקרוב אליהם
 15 לא ינקה *כקרבתו* (14) יאשם כי אם נלחץ

כי {{אם}} (15) למלפנים פקד 16 אל את מעשיהם ויחר אפו בעלילותיהם
 כי לא עם בינות הוא (ישעיהו כז 11) 17 הם גוי אבד עצות (דברים לב 28)
 מאשר אין בהם בינה

I כי מלפנים עמד 18 משה ואהרן ביד שר האורים ויקם בליעל את יחנה
 ואת 19 אחיהו במזמתו בהושע (16) ישראל את הראשונה *vacat*

Translation (17)

[Belial set against Israel prior to the Eschaton]

I 12 And during all these years 13 **Belial** shall be set against Israel,
 [The three nets of Belial]

II as God spoke through Isaiah the prophet, the son of 14 Amoz, saying: “Terror and the pit and the snare are upon you, O inhabitant of the land” (Isa 24:17), these are 15 **the three nets of Belial**, concerning which Levi the son of Jacob said 16 that he [=Belial] *caught Israel* and laid before them (18) (the nets) to the three kinds of 17 righteousness. The first (a) is *zēnut*, (19) the second (b) is the **wealth** (ההון), the third (c) is

(14) CD A reads ביתו כהר. For the likely emendation to כקרבתו, see Alexander Rofé, “Notes to the Damascus Document 5:15 and 6:14,” *Meghillot* 4 (2006): 207–11, esp. 207–9 (in Hebrew).

(15) CD A reads למלפנים כי אם; 4Q662 3 ii 3 reads למלפנים כי (Joseph M. Baumgarten and Józef T. Milik, *Qumran Cave 4. XIII: The Damascus Document* [DJD 18; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997], 41), which is the right reading (or perhaps מלפנים כי; see Qimron’s note in his *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 1:11). The reading כי אם in CD A is a lapse from the preceding words כי אם נלחץ.

(16) CD A reads בהושע, as does also 6Q15 (Maurice Baillet et al., *Les ‘Petite Grottes’ de Qumran* [DJD 3; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1962], 130). According to 4Q266, however, the reading seems to be בהרשע (in contrast to Qimron [*The Dead Sea Scrolls: The Hebrew Writings*, 1:11]). *בהושע* is probably the preferable reading. “Jannes and his brother” are probably the Egyptian magicians who opposed both Moses and Aaron in Pharaoh’s court (elsewhere I will deal with 5:17–19 and its relation to 4:12–13).

(17) Based on the translation of Robert H. Charles, *The Apocrypha and the Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament*. Vol 2: *Pseudepigrapha* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1913), 809–11, with many alterations.

(18) The reading ויתנם פניהם is awkward. The text might be corrupt. I translated as if it was written ויתנם לפניהם, although I am far from certain that this is the correct emendation. The general sense of the text is clear enough.

(19) The word *zēnut* is sometimes translated as “whoredom” or “fornication,” but these translations are inaccurate; it denotes illicit sexual mating.

the ¹⁸ **defilement of the Sanctuary** (טמא המקדש). He that comes up from one shall be caught in the other, and he that escapes from this shall be caught ¹⁹ by that. (20)

[The “builders of the wall” caught by two nets]

III The “builders of the wall” (Ezek 13:10) “who walk after צו” (Hos 5:11)—the צו is the preacher <<of lies>>, ²⁰ of whom He said: “Assuredly they will preach” (Mic 2:6)—are caught by two [nets, i.e. *zēnut* and defilement of the Sanctuary]:

[The two nets—first recension] (21)

(a1) by *zēnut* in taking ²¹ two wives during their lifetime.

But the fundamental principle of the creation is “male and female He created them” (Gen 1:27), ¹ And they who went into the Ark, “Two and two went into the Ark” (Gen 7:9). And concerning the prince it is written, ² “He shall not multiply wives unto himself” (Deut 17:17). But David read not in the Book of the Torah that was sealed, which ³ was in the Ark; for it was not opened in Israel from the day of the death of Eleazar ⁴ and Joshua, and the Elders who served Ashtaroth (Judges 2:7–13), (22) and that which ⁵ had been revealed was hidden until Zadok arose; and the deeds of David were recorded [in heaven], ⁶ but God pardoned him for them, (23) with the exception of the blood of Uriah. (24)

And also

(c1) they **defile the Sanctuary**,

- (α) since they **do not** ⁷ **separate** (25) according to the Torah,
- (β) and lie with women who see the blood of their issue (Lev 15).

[The two nets—second recension]

(a2) *And they take as a wife* ⁸ *each his brother’s daughter or his sister’s daughter* [scil. committing *zēnut*], but Moses said

(20) According to the following verse, Isa 24:18: הַנֶּסֶם מִקּוֹל הַפֶּחַד יִפֹּל אֶל הַפֶּחַת: “He who flees at the sound of the terror, shall fall into the pit; and he who comes up of the pit shall be caught in the snare.”

(21) The two relevant “nets of Belial” (the first [a] and the third [c] in unit II) are explained twice; I therefore marked them *a1*, *c1*; *a2*, *c2*.

(22) Or rather the parallel passage reflected in LXX Josh 24:33a–b; see Alexander Rofé, “The End of the Book of Joshua according to the Septuagint,” *Shnaton* 2 (1977): 217–27, esp. 223–24 (in Hebrew).

(23) Since God forgave David for “his deeds” the focus here is on David’s sins.

(24) According to 1 Kings 15:5.

(25) On the textual problem see above, n. 13. My translation is deliberately as literary as possible.

“You will not approach ⁹ your mother’s sister: she is your mother’s near kin” (Lev 18:13)—the law of intercourse is written for males, ¹⁰ but the same law holds also for females; and therefore if the brother’s daughter uncovers the nakedness of ¹¹ her father’s brother, she is near of kin. (26)

And also

- (c2) they **defile their holy spirit**, and with blasphemous tongues ¹² they opened their mouth against the statutes of the covenant of God, saying: ‘They are not established,’ and speak abominations ¹³ regarding them. They are all “kindlers of fire and setters aflame of firebrands” (Isa 50:11), “The webs of ¹⁴ spiders” (Isa 59:5) are their weavings and “the eggs of vipers are their eggs” (ibid.). He who comes near them ¹⁵ will not be unpunished, *when he comes near them,* he will be held guilty, unless he was forced (to do so).

[Divine punishment; continuation of c2]

For in ancient times (27) God visited ¹⁶ their works, and His wrath was kindled because of their deeds. For “this is a people of no understanding” (Isa 27:11): ¹⁷ “They are a nation void of counsel” (Deut 32:28), because there is no understanding in them.

[Belial set against Israel prior to the Exodus]

- I** *For in ancient times* ¹⁸ Moses and Aaron arose through the prince of Lights, whereas **Belial**, in his cunning, raised Jannes ¹⁹ and his brother before the first deliverance (28) of Israel.

2. The Structure of the Passage and Its Layers

The passage opens (**I**) (29) with a statement concerning the malevolent deeds of Belial in the last years before the eschaton, i.e.,

(26) This is how I translate the words **והיא שאר**. The *waw* of **והיא** introduces the apodosis (see BDB, 254–55 #5; Jacob N. Epstein, *Introduction to the Mishnaic Text* [Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1948], 1076–86 [in Hebrew]).

(27) On the text see above, n. 15.

(28) Concerning the text see above, n. 16.

(29) The ending of the passage is marked in CD A by a *vacat*. Nonetheless, some scholars regard CD 5:17 as the beginning of a new unit (e.g., Stegemann, “Die Entstehung der Qumrangemeinde,” 160; Michael A. Knibb, *The Qumran Community* [Cambridge Commentaries on Writings of the Jewish and Christian World 200BC to AD200 2; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987], 46). It is difficult to determine the beginning of the passage: the words “and during all *these* years” clearly indicate that the text does *not* begin here, for the word “these” requires an antecedent.

at the historical period of the writer which is, in his view, the penultimate stage of history. The next unit (**II**) elaborates “the three nets of Belial,” the three major sins which Israel will commit. These are derived through *peshet*-exegesis from Isa 24:17. They were putatively mentioned in an apocryphon attributed to the Patriarch Levi. It seems that this is a conventional triad of sins: (30) illicit sexual mating—defilement—injustice are mentioned in Jub. 7:20, and elsewhere. (31) In our passage it is explicitly stated that not all the adversaries were guilty of committing *all* three sins; (32) rather, each group of opponents is guilty of at least one or two of them. (33) The next unit (**III**) focuses on “the builders of the wall,” maybe because they are the main opponents of the community. These opponents are guilty of committing two of the three sins (this is how the sentence **הם ניתפשים בשתיים** should be construed, to my mind). (34) Later on, in the following lines,

(30) *Miqṣat Ma’aṣe ha-Torah* refers to (a) divergent acts that defile the Sanctuary (e.g., B.52–60; 68–71), (b) **זנות** (B.75–82 [Elisha Qimron and John Strugnell, *Qumran Cave 4. V: Miqṣat Ma’aṣe ha-Torah* [DJD 10; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994], 54–57]; C.5–8 [ibid. 58–59]), and (c) **חמס** (C.5 [ibid.]). There is no compelling reason to assume that according to 4QMMT these three sins were committed by one and the same group of opponents.

(31) See Schechter, *Fragments*, xxxvi, n. 20, and especially Hans Kosmala, “The Three Nets of Belial: A Study in the Terminology of Qumran and the New Testament,” in: *Studies, Essays and Reviews*. Vol. 2: *New Testament* (Leiden: Brill, 1978), 115–37. I disagree with many of his interpretations, but some of the parallels are instructive.

(32) This is inherent in the biblical text interpreted in this *peshet*; see above, n. 29.

(33) Compare to two other passages of the Damascus Document: (i) according to CD 8:5 the apostates of the sect are guilty of **זנות** and **הק הרשעה**; (ii) according to CD 20:23, the faction called **בית פלג** is accused of defiling the Sanctuary. According to *Peshet Habakkuk*, the “Evil Priest” is guilty of “wealth” (**הק**, 1QpHab 8:11–12; 12:9–10) and of defiling the Sanctuary (1QpHab 8:13; 12:8). In each of these sources, opponents—either a specific group or an individual—are accused of committing two of the three sins mentioned in our passage. It cannot be ascertained, of course, that the accusations in these passages are based on the scheme of “the three nets of Belial” put forward in our passage.

(34) Rabin considers the translation “they are caught in two (of the three nets), namely in whoredom, continued by ‘defiling the Sanctuary,’ 5:6,” and rejects it in the following words: “But then 5:7 hangs in the air, and our passage contradicts 1QpHab, where the opponents are repeatedly accused of robbing the sanctuary...” (Chaim Rabin, *The Zadokite Documents* [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1954], 17, n. 1 to line 20); he therefore translates: “they are caught in two *respects* in whoredom” (his italics) and interprets (ibid.): “The second case follows in 5:7; thus only *zēnuth* is discussed, and 5:6–7 is added parenthetically.” For the structure, see below; for the other sources, see above, n. 33. For a review of scholarly opinions see Adiel Schremer, “Qumran Polemic on Marital Law: CD 4:20–5:11 and its Social Background,” in *The Damascus Document: A Centennial of Discovery. Proceedings of the Third International Symposium of the Orion Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associated Literature* [ed. Joseph M. Baumgarten et al.; STDJ 24; Leiden: Brill, 2000], 147–60, esp. 150–51). Schremer opts for the translation preferred by Rabin and chosen by other scholars. For

it is unfolded that one sin is זנות (*zēnut*, illicit sexual mating) and the other is טמא המקדש, “the defilement of the Sanctuary” (but, according to this passage, the “builders of the wall” were not guilty of “wealth” sins). (35)

The *expansion* of the text at work in this passage is the key to its understanding. Unit *II* consists of various layers, elaborating a neat and simple sentence: (36)

בוני החיץ הם ניתפשים בשנים בונות וגם מטמאים הם את המקדש

The builders of the wall are caught by two (sins), by *zēnut* and also they defile the Sanctuary

The words אשר הלכו אחרי צו were added after בוני החיץ. The sentence הצו הוא מטיף <<הכזב>> אשר אמר הטף יטיפון is probably an insertion in which what is covert in the base text (אשר הלכו אחרי צו) is spelled out (37) by using another proof-text from Micah, which is left unexplained. (38) The possibility that the author was responsible for some of these expansions cannot be ruled out, but units *a1*, *c1*, *a2* and *c2*, elaborating upon the two sins that the “builders of the wall” have committed, seem to be derived from two recensions of the text (see below), and attest to a fluid state of textual transmission. It is therefore plausible that the expansions were added by a redactor (or redactors).

The first transgression of the “builders of the wall,” *zēnut*, is explained in *a1* as bigamy—and the text goes into a detailed exposition of biblical verses to demonstrate it. The second transgression is explained briefly in unit *c1* (attached to *a1* by the word וגם, “and also”): “defilement of the Sanctuary.” This sin is expounded first by a general assertion (*c1a*): “since they do not *separate* according to the Torah,” i.e., they do not distinguish between the pure and the impure. (39) This assertion is of halakhic nature, but—unlike the treatment of *zēnut*—no specific sin is mentioned. Moreover, its specific relationship

the hypothesis that the omission of “wealth” in CD might have been accidental see Philip R. Davies, *The Damascus Covenant: An Interpretation of the “Damascus Document”* (JSOTS 25; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1982), 218 n. 9. The interpretation I suggest seems to me to resolve virtually all the problems without far-reaching (and unnecessary) hypotheses and emendations.

(35) The omission of “wealth” is therefore well calculated by the author (contrast, e.g., Davies, *The Damascus Covenant*, 113 and 218 n. 9).

(36) Needless to say, my aim is not to reconstruct the details of an “original text.”

(37) See, e.g., Stegemann, “Die Entstehung der Qumrangemeinde,” 151 (I would assume that הצו was a sobriquet of the leader of the opponents even before this explanation was inserted).

(38) For a similar phenomenon see CD 6:8, in which Isa 54:16 is adduced to support the pesher of Num 21:18, but no interpretation is provided to Isa 54:16.

(39) See above, n. 13.

to the “defilement of the Sanctuary” is not explicated in the text. The text continues (*c1β*): “and they lie with women who see the blood of their issue.” It is unclear what exactly is intended here: does the text refer to specific halakhot concerning menstruation blood (*b. Niddah* 33b), or to the differing calculations concerning the time in which the menstrual impurity ends? (40) Plausibly the relevant biblical verse for the context of this passage is the assertion at the end of the chapter in Leviticus in which the rulings concerning menstruation are set: “lest they die not in their uncleanness, in their defiling My tabernacle which is in their midst” (בְּטִמְאָתָם אֶת מִשְׁכְּנִי אֲשֶׁר בְּתוֹכָם Lev 15:31). (41) But if so, it is puzzling that the Damascus Document is rather opaque; only sexual intercourse is mentioned, without any overt reference to the defilement of the Sanctuary. The abruptness of this sentence is especially conspicuous when compared with the charge of *zēnut* in units *a1* and *a2*. It may well be that the detailed reasoning given in *a1* and *a2* represents an expanded stage of the text, whereas *c1β* is retained in its embryonic form, perhaps because the redactor of this passage was more interested in specifying the halakhic transgressions of the *zēnut* category. (42)

The following issue, namely the marriage with one’s niece, clearly does not belong to the category of “defilement of the Sanctuary.” Rather, it is another halakhic indictment referring to *zēnut*. After dealing with this issue, another indictment related to defilement is attached, using again the word נִגַּם (as above in line 6): “and also they defile their holy spirit.”

The awkward order of the text has been noticed, and to solve the problem it has been suggested that a unit in this passage was interpolated or misplaced (e.g., that *a2* immediately followed *a1*). (43) The problem of the textual order is neatly explained, however, if the text of CD is regarded—as I contend (44)—as a combination of two

(40) This is treated elsewhere in the Damascus Document; see 4Q266 6 ii 4 (Baumgarten and Milik, *The Damascus Document*, 55–56).

(41) Stegemann, “Die Entstehung der Qumrangemeinde,” 158–59. If this verse is assumed, the argument is cogent (contrast Davies, *The Damascus Covenant*, 115).

(42) Similarly argued by Davies, *The Damascus Covenant*, 114 (see also below, n. 60).

(43) Rabin, *The Zadokite Documents*, 17 n. 1 to line 20; Jerome Murphy-O’Connor, “An Essene Missionary Document? CD 2:14–6:1,” *RB* 77 (1970): 201–29 (our passage is discussed on pp. 219–25), esp. 221; Davies, *The Damascus Covenant*, 113–15; Knibb, *The Qumran Community*, 41–42: “The second accusation (making the sanctuary unclean, the third of the nets of Belial) breaks the connection between the two examples of fornication. For these reasons it is possible that this accusation was inserted at a second stage, or that it has been misplaced from after 5:11a”; Schremer, “Qumran Polemic on Marital Law,” 149–52.

(44) Because of this contention I marked the two passages as *a2* and *c2* (i.e., explanations of the first and the third sin). To the best of my knowledge this has not been suggested in the scholarly literature.

recensions; the sins of זנות and טמא המקדש are illustrated in each of them, albeit differently (see below). This resolves at once most of the perplexing textual problems in this passage.

One cannot help noticing the remarkable nature of the explanation of the “defilement of the sanctuary” in *c*2. It deviates from the strictly halakhic accusation of defiling the Sanctuary by not observing the impurity laws, and it unexpectedly gives this accusation a quasi-allegorical spiritual interpretation (see below). (45)

One notes the dual occurrences of the words כי מלפנים “for in ancient times” in CD 5:15 and 5:17. The repetition of these words may be regarded as part of the formulaic *framework* of the two recensions. The first occurrence of the phrase “for in ancient times” continues the idea of punishment in *c*2, while the second one is related to the assertion concerning Belial (*I*): as Belial is set against Israel in the period before the eschaton, so was Belial set against Israel’s leaders (and Israel) in the period before the Exodus. (46)

The similarity of the *framework*, alongside dissimilarity of the *content* is the main characteristic of the two recensions recorded in CD A (7:9–8:1) and CD B (19:5–13), as I have tried to demonstrate in a previous study. (47) I contend that the two recensions discernable in CD 4:12–5:19 are of a similar nature.

(45) In this context it is worthwhile to note a similar “spiritual” shift in the Temple Scroll: the king should select 12,000 warriors “who shall not leave him alone, lest he will be caught by the nations” (11QT^a 57:5–7, אשר לוא יעזבוהו לבדו ויתפש ביד, הגואים), but a few lines later it is stated: “they shall continuously be with him, day and night, so that they guard him from every act of sin and from foreign nations so that he is not caught by them” (11QT^a 57:9–10, אשר יהיו שומרים אותו מכול דבר חט ומן גוי נכר, אשׁר לוא יתפש בידמה). These are apparently two variations of the same text; a spiritual-moral dimension was added to the base-text of the latter by the insertion of the words in italics. This has been pointed out by Barzilay, who argues that “there are at least two main compositional levels” within the “Law of the King” unit in the Temple Scroll (Yoav Barzilay, “The Law of the King in the Temple Scroll: Its Original Characteristics and Later Redaction,” *Tarbiz* 72 [2003]: 59–84, esp. 72 [in Hebrew]).

(46) The close relationship between CD A 5:17 and 4:12–13 has been noted by scholars; see, e.g., Stegemann, “Die Entstehung der Qumrangemeinde,” 160. According to Knibb, *The Qumran Community*, 46, CD 5:17b–19 “is probably secondary. It breaks the thread of the argument inasmuch as it does not obviously explain what is said in lines 15b–17a ... The affect of this passage is to make a link back to the reference to Belial in 4:12b–13a.” For the linkage of these lines to 4:12–13 see also Johannes Tromp, “Jannes and Jambres (2 Timothy 3, 8–9),” in *Moses in Biblical and Extra-Biblical Traditions* (ed. Axel Graupner & Michael Wolter; BZAW 372; Berlin: De Gruyter, 2007), 211–26, esp. 218. Because Tromp reads CD 5:17b–19 as continuing the preceding lines (5:11–17), he argues that Jannes and Jambres must have been Israelites rather than Egyptians (219). According to the analysis suggested in the present article, however, CD 5:15b–17a and 17b–19 belong to two different recensions.

(47) Kister, “The Development of the Early Recensions of the Damascus Document.”

After scrutinizing the relationship of *c1* and *c2* in the next unit we will be in a better position to judge more accurately the relationship between the two recensions.

3. The Relationship of *c1* and *c2* in Light of a Parallel and a Biblical Verse

What is the relationship between “they do not separate according to the Torah” (*c1*) and “they defile their holy spirit” (*c2*), and consequently how are the two recensions to which they belong related to each other? The key to answer this question is another passage in the Damascus Document and the biblical verse underlying it.

In CD 7:3–4 we read, in a passage specifying the commandments that should be observed by the members of the community of the “New Covenant” (CD 6:14–7:4):

- (i) ולהבדל מכל הטמאות כמשפטם
- (ii) ולא ישקץ איש את רוח קדשיו
- (iii) כאשר הבדיל אל להם.

- (i) to *separate themselves* from all kind of defilement according to the laws (of defilement), (48)
- (ii) and no man shall *defile* (ישקץ) his holy spirit, (49)
- (iii) as God *separated* for them.

It should be borne in mind that CD 7:3–4 is part of a detailed list of the commandments and statutes that are to be observed by the members of the community. The words “you shall not defile your holy spirit” functions, then, as a meta-halakhic assertion that encapsulates the right *halakhic* conduct and the *correct interpretation of the biblical commandments* (this is also the main subject of *c2*: the opponents “opened their mouth with blasphemous tongues against the statutes...”). (50) As has been noted, CD 7:3–4 is clearly based on Lev 20:25–26: (51)

(48) According to my interpretation, the plural goes back to the preceding word, הטמאות (the latter is feminine, but the form כמשפטם can be interpreted as either as masculine or feminine in Qumran Hebrew).

(49) In the Qumranic orthography, the suffix יו “is occasionally attached to nouns in the singular,” because both were pronounced *ō* (Elisha Qimron, *A Grammar of the Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls* [Jerusalem: Yad Ben-Zvi, 2018], 72–74. In 1QIsa^a Isa 63:10 reads רוח קדשיו (cf. זרוע תפארתיו, Isa 63:12), whereas the next verse, Isa 63:11 reads רוח קדשו (MT: רוח קדשו).

(50) This is based on Num 15:30: והנפש אשר תעשה ביד רמה ... את ה' הוא מנדף ... blasphemes the Lord.” MMT alludes to this verse when referring to those who do not observe the commandments according to the correct interpretation (MMT B 68–70; see Qimron and Strugnell, *Miqsat Ma'ase ha-Torah*, 54).

(51) See Schechter, *A Zadokite Work*, xxxix, n. 42.

- (i) (25) וְהִבְדַּלְתֶּם בֵּין הַבְּהֵמָה הַטְּהוֹרָה לַטְּמֵאָה וּבֵין הָעוֹף הַטָּמֵא לַטְּהוֹרָה
 (ii) וְלֹא תִשְׁקְצוּ אֶת נַפְשֵׁיכֶם בַּבְּהֵמָה וּבָעוֹף וּבְכָל אֲשֶׁר תִּרְמַשׁ הָאֲדָמָה
 (iii) אֲשֶׁר הִבְדַּלְתִּי לָכֶם לַטְּמֵא. (26) וְהָיִיתֶם לִי קְדוֹשִׁים כִּי קְדוֹשׁ אֲנִי ה' וְאֲבַדֵּל אֶתְכֶם מִן הָעַמִּים לְהִיּוֹת לִי

- (i) (25) And you shall separate between the pure and the impure (הטמאה) beast, and between the impure (הטמא) and the pure bird, (נפשתיכם) by beast or by bird, or by anything with which the ground teems,
 (ii) and you shall not defile (ולא תשקצו) your souls (ולא תשקצו) your souls
 (iii) which I have separated (הבדלתי) for you to (hold) impure (לַטְּמֵא). (26) You shall be holy for me, for holy am I, the Lord. Therefore I separated you from other peoples to be mine.

The relationship of the two passages of the Damascus Document to the biblical verse will become clear by the following table:

Lev 20:25–26	CD 7:3–4	CD 5:6–7, 11
וְהִבְדַּלְתֶּם בֵּין הַבְּהֵמָה הַטְּהוֹרָה לַטְּמֵאָה	וְלֹא תִשְׁקְצוּ אֶת נַפְשֵׁיכֶם	c1 (5:6–7): אין הם מבדיל את הטהור מן הטמא
וְלֹא תִשְׁקְצוּ אֶת נַפְשֵׁיכֶם ... וְהָיִיתֶם לִי קְדוֹשִׁים כִּי קְדוֹשׁ אֲנִי ה'	וְלֹא יִשְׁקֹץ אִישׁ אֶת רוּחוֹ קְדֻשָּׁתוֹ	c2 (5:11): את רוח קדושתם טמאו
אֲשֶׁר הִבְדַּלְתִּי לָכֶם לַטְּמֵא	כֹּאשֶׁר הִבְדִּיל אֱלֹהִים	
And you shall separate between the pure and the impure beast	to separate themselves from all kind of defilement according to the laws of defilement	c1 (5:6–7): they do not separate according to the Torah
and you shall not defile your souls ... You shall be holy for me, for holy am I, the Lord.	and no man shall defile his holy spirit	c2 (5:11): they defile their holy spirit
which I have separated for you to (hold) impure	as God separated for them	

The expression וְלֹא תִשְׁקְצוּ אֶת נַפְשֵׁיכֶם (Lev 20:25), whose meaning in the biblical context is either “you shall not defile your throats” (52)

(52) See, e.g., Jacob Licht, s.v. נפש, *Encyclopaedia Biblica* (Jerusalem: Mosad Bialik, 1968), 5:898–904 (in Hebrew); Jacob Milgrom, *Leviticus 17–22* (AB; New York: Doubleday, 2007), 1762 (“your throats”); Baruch A. Levine, *The JPS Torah*

or “you shall not defile yourselves,” is understood in CD 7:3–4 as “you shall not defile your *souls*”; (53) the souls (54) are holy through God’s holiness (Lev 20:26). CD 7:3–4 makes use of Lev 20:25–26 in order to refer to the holy spirit(s) abiding within human beings. (55) The “holy spirit” is conceived of as part of the human self (56) liable to defilement by sins. (57) Surprisingly, this interpretation of Lev 20:25–26 as expressing general meta-halakhic notions ignores the context of this verse in the biblical passage, that is: eating pure animals and avoiding impure ones. (58)

The comparison of the CD texts in the table above demonstrates that *c1* and *c2* are indeed genetically related: both the phraseology of “separation” (*c1*) and that of “defilement of one’s holy spirit” (*c2*) ultimately stem from the same biblical verse, Lev 20:25–26. With the help of CD 7:3–4 we can affirm that both *c1* and *c2* are two elaborations—quite different in character, to be sure—of one biblical verse that can be paraphrased: “they do not separate according to the Torah and defile their holy spirit.” Lev 20:25–26 is the point of departure of these two distinct passages. The two recensions share the reference to Lev 20:25 as the framework for explicating the second sin of the “builders of the wall,” whereas the *content* of the accusation in each

Commentary: Leviticus (Philadelphia, PA: Jewish Publication Society, 1989), 140 (“yourselves”).

(53) See Levison, *Filled with the Spirit*, 130–33.

(54) The biblical passage refers to the souls of the Israelites in particular.

(55) Needless to say, I do not contend that the conception of the holy spirit as dwelling within human beings is *derived from* Lev 20:25–26; rather, these verses were interpreted in light of this peculiar idea.

(56) Concerning this shift see Levison, *Filled with the Spirit*, 130–33. I am not sure whether Theodotion Susanna 45 (Levison, *Filled with the Spirit*, 127–30) and *Biblical Antiquities* 18:11 are related to the idea expressed in our passage (compare Levison, *The Spirit in First Century Judaism* [AGAJU 29; Leiden: Brill, 1997], 75; idem, *Filled with the Spirit*, 133–37).

(57) The notion of defiling the holy spirit occurs elsewhere in a copy of the Damascus Document (בשמותם לטמא את רוח קודשו, 4QD^c, 4Q270 2 ii 11). The context is halakhic, but the text is too fragmentary to make sense of it, and even to know whether the suffix in קודשו refers to God or to a human being.

(58) Rabin interprets CD 7:4 “and no man shall defile his holy spirit”—“by eating forbidden food; cf. 12:11” (Rabin, *The Zadokite Documents*, 26 n. 5 to line 3). Levison rightly states: “For the people of Qumran, the issue is not one of animals or birds, but unwavering commitment to the covenant, as they understand it,” and compares this passage to CD 5:11–13 (Levison, *Filled with the Spirit*, 131). He does compare CD 7:3–4 also to CD 12:11–13: אל ישקץ איש את נפשו בכל החיה והרמש לאכל מהם (CD 12:11–12), “No one should *defile his soul* with any living being or one which creeps, by eating them, from the larvae of bees to every living being” (Levison, *Filled with the Spirit*, 130–31); to my mind, however, the latter passage reflects a *different* readings of Lev 20:25 derived from a separate source (see below, n. 62).

of them is quite different. This is, then, an illustration of an expansion of a text in various transmissions. Fortunately, in this case the dynamics that moulded the pluriformity of the text are discernible. (59)

Interestingly, there is a palpable difference in the treatment of the two major sins of this group: while *zēnut* is illustrated by detailed halakhic issues, the defilement of the Sanctuary is explained in a very general manner (*c1*) or interpreted spiritually (*c2*), but no halakhic details are adduced to justify the accusation that the “builders of the wall” are guilty of defiling the Sanctuary. It seems that the authors of *both* recensions embedded in our passage were more interested in the halakhic aspects of *zēnut* than in the details of halakhic purity laws that cause the defilement of the Sanctuary. (60)

4. Defilement of the Sanctuary in the Base-Text and in *c2*

As we shall presently see, the accusation that the opponents “defile their holy spirit” serves in our passage as an illustration of “defilement of the Sanctuary” (*II, III*; see also below, section 5). There can be little doubt that the base-text accuses the opponents for not observing the halakhic laws of purity (according to the correct interpretation of these laws); thereby “defiling the Sanctuary.” (61) The defilement of the Sanctuary as a specific halakhic issue is a matter of concern in some texts of the *yahad*. For example:

- ירושלים אשר פעל בה הכהן <הרשע> מעשי תועבות ויטמא את מקדש אל,
“Jerusalem, in which the [wicked] priest committed acts of abomination, and defiled God’s Sanctuary” (1QpHab 12:7–9).
- אל ישכב איש עם אשה בעיר המקדש לטמא את עיר המקדש בנדתם
a man should sleep with a woman in the City of the Sanctuary, so as

(59) Schremer, “Qumran Polemic on Marital Law,” 152–57, argues that marrying one’s niece (5:8; *a2* according to my designation) is inherently related to bigamy (4:20–21; *a1*). Consequently, units *a1* and *a2* should be considered as two elaborations of one accusation rather than as two independent examples of *zēnut*. According to Schremer’s emendation of the text *a2* immediately followed *a1*, but his question “is there an inherent connection between the two issues?” may be relevant also in the context of the new analysis suggested in the present article.

(60) Davies, *The Damascus Covenant*, 115, has similarly argued that the defilement of the Temple was not very important for the redactor, and that “defiling of the sanctuary is present here simply because it was present in the list of accusations used by the redactor as a main source.” My textual analysis, however, differs from that of Davies.

(61) “Sanctuary” in the base-text is definitely the Jerusalem Temple itself, and there is no reason to assume that it refers to the community (Otilie J. R. Schwarz, *Der erster Teil der Damascusschrift und das Alte Testament* [Diest: Lichtland, 1965], 142; Kosmala, “The Three Nets of Belial,” 115–37).

not to defile the City of the Sanctuary with their impurity” (CD 12:1; (62) see also 11QT^a 45:11–12).

- כִּי שְׁלוֹא רָאָה וְלוֹא שָׁמַע לֹא [י] דַּע לַעֲשׂוֹת וְהֵמָּה בָּאִים לִטָּה [ר]ת הַמִּקְדָּשׁ
“for whoever does not see or does not hear does not know how to perform [the laws]; but they [i.e., the deaf and the blind] approach the purity of the Sanctuary” (MMT B 53–54; 4Q394 8 iv 3–4). (63)

According to c2, however, the opponents’ rejection of the correct interpretation of God’s commandments causes the defilement of the holy spirit within them, and this is considered as the defilement of the Sanctuary. (64) Exegetically, this “spiritual” interpretation of the “defilement of the Sanctuary” may be regarded as a change of accentuation. (65)

A striking parallel to this notion is Paul’s assertion: “Do you not know that *your body is a temple of the holy spirit within you*, which you have from God?” (1 Cor 6:19). (66) Scholars have noted that phraseology similar to Paul’s assertion occurs in various Hellenistic writers, especially related to the Stoa; according to these writers, God dwells in human beings as if in a temple. (67) While the phraseology

(62) The verse whose interpretation in CD 5 is discussed in the present article was also alluded to in the laws of CD 12. There (CD 12:11–12) Lev 20:25 is interpreted literally as a prohibition to defile oneself by eating forbidden food. It seems that our passage and CD 12 belong to two different sources, and there is no reason to interpret the latter in accordance with the former. See also above, n. 58.

(63) Qimron and Strugnell, *Miqsat Ma’ase ha-Torah*, 12, 52, 138.

(64) One could entertain the idea that the word מִקְדָּשׁ was interpreted here not as “sanctuary” but rather as “holiness, sanctity”; See *b.Sanhedrin* 19a: —מִן הַמִּקְדָּשׁ לֹא יֵצֵא מִקְדָּשׁוֹ לֹא יֵצֵא [“He shall not get out of the Sanctuary [and shall not defile the sanctuary of God]” (Lev 21:12)—[that means:] he should not get out of his sanctity.” This interpretation of the word מִקְדָּשׁ is grammatically possible, but hitherto not well documented elsewhere. Such a possibility seems therefore far-fetched. On the other hand, the analogy of the self to the Sanctuary is not unheard of (see below).

(65) To be sure, the “defilement of the holy spirit” does *not* replace the laws pertaining to the “defilement of the Sanctuary”: according to our passage the “defilement of the holy spirit” is a wrong interpretation and observation of the commandments, including those of purity and impurity.

(66) Paul similarly asserts in 1 Cor 3:16: “Do you not know *that you are God’s temple and that God’s spirit dwells in you*?” Commentators interpret 1 Cor 3:16 as referring to the community, but think that the two verses are interrelated. See also James 4:5. The translation of the latter is doubtful, but it clearly refers to “the spirit that He caused to dwell in us” (τὸ πνεῦμα ὃ κατέκτισεν ἐν ἡμῖν). One of the questions is whether the Holy Spirit is intended or rather the human spirit (see the discussion of Ralph P. Martin, *James* [WBC 48; Waco, TX: Word Books, 1988], 149–51); see also 2 Tim 1:14.

(67) For many references see the commentaries of Johannes Weiss, *Der erste Korintherbrief* (KeK; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1925), 166 n. 1; Hans Lietzmann, *An die Korinther I–II* (4th ed.; HNT; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1949), 17;

of these works is similar, the content of the various sources is remarkably different. (68) The Pauline notion of the “holy spirit” is probably derived from Palestinian Judaism. (69) It is therefore possible to regard the idea of the need to keep one’s holy spirit pure, as well as the simile of human beings to Sanctuary, not just as an internal Jewish development, (70) but to suspect that it has been influenced by Hellenistic ideas (such as those of the Stoa). (71) To be sure, Judaism of the Second Temple period and Hellenistic culture are not two opposing entities (although the authors of the Damascus Document and of the scrolls had probably no direct access to Greek writings). In the following sections I will try to clarify the meaning of the indwelling holy spirit in our passage and in CD 7:3–4.

5. The Indwelling Holy Spirit

The possessive pronoun suffixes attached to the words “holy spirit” in these two passages of the Damascus Document refer to human beings. This usage stands in sharp contrast to the occurrences of *ruah* (*ha-*)*qodesh* elsewhere in the Bible (Isa 63:10–11; Ps 51:13) (72) and in the Qumran writings, where the suffix always refers to God (with

Wolfgang Schrage, *Der erste Brief an die Korinther* (EKK; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1995), 2:33 n. 362.

(68) As emphasized by Weiss, *Der erste Korintherbrief*, 166 n. 1; Schrage, *Der erste Brief an die Korinther*, 2:33–34. See also Barrett’s assertion (after citing a Stoic parallel): “The divine spirit is understood to dwell in man not by nature but by grace, and is conceived in terms of the moral holiness of Christ” (Charles K. Barrett, *A Commentary on the First Epistle to the Corinthians* [Black’s Commentary; London: Adam & Charles Black, 1968], 151). For a discussion of similar motifs from a different perspective see Serge Ruzer, “From Man as a *Locus* of God’s Indwelling to Death as Temple’s Destruction: Notes on the History of a Motif,” *RB* 119 (2012): 383–402.

(69) Jörg Frey, “The Notion of the Spirit in the Dead Sea Scrolls and in Texts of the Early Jesus Movement,” in *The Religious Worldviews Reflected in the Dead Sea Scrolls: Proceedings of the Fourteenth International Symposium of the Orion Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associated Literature* (ed. Ruth A. Clements et al.; STDJ 127; Leiden: Brill, 2018), 83–102.

(70) This is the main thrust of Kugel’s general discussion of the in his *The Great Shift*, 187–210, esp. 200–205.

(71) See Levison, *Filled with the Spirit*, 138–42, esp. 140–42.

(72) In Ps 51:12–13 the worshipper asks God to grant him a pure heart and to put a new and steadfast spirit in him, not to cast him away from God’s presence and not to withdraw His holy spirit from him (לִב טָהוֹר בְּרָא לִי אֱלֹהִים וְרוּחַ נָכוֹן חֲדָשׁ בְּקִרְבִּי. (אַל תִּשְׁלִיכֵנִי מִלְּפָנֶיךָ וְרוּחַ קָדְשְׁךָ אַל תִּקַּח מִמֶּנִּי). In these verses it is God who grants humans the pure heart and the new spirit, and it is God who might withdraw His holy spirit (probably identical with the “pure heart” and the “steadfast spirit” mentioned in the preceding verse).

one exception, see below). (73) Another peculiarity of these two passages of the Damascus Document is also noteworthy: while elsewhere in the scrolls the gift of the holy spirit endowed by God *purifies* the elect, (74) these passages are concerned that the (already) pure holy spirit within humans might be *defiled* by wrong deeds or words. (75)

The other passage in the scrolls in which the possessive pronoun suffix attached to the “holy spirit” refers to humans is 4QInstruction (4Q416 2 ii 5–7 + 4Q417 2 ii [+23] 8–9). (76) It urges the disciple to return a loan lest he suffers greater spiritual damages:

מהר תן אשר לו וקח כיסכה ובדבריה אל תמעט [את] רוחכה. בכל הון
אל תמר רוח ק>דשכה כי אין מחיר שוה [בה]

Quickly give what is his, and take (back) your purse, and do not diminish your spirit with your words. Do not exchange your holy spirit for any money, for no price is worthy of [it]. (77)

According to this passage the “holy spirit” is endangered by intermingling with the wealth of others. “Your holy spirit” in this passage is synonymous with “your spirit” (i.e., the spirit of the disciple) mentioned in the preceding sentence. (78) Typically, the mundane is bound up with the spiritual in 4QInstruction, and the two are inseparable. For this reason, one may lose or diminish his “spirit,” or the “holy spirit” that dwells in him as a result of intermingling with the wealth of a sinner. (79)

What is this indwelling holy spirit in the CD passages and in 4QInstruction? Sekki asserts (concerning the former): “Most scholars believe that *ruah* in these passages refers to man’s spirit, although a strong minority believes that it refers to the Spirit of God.” According

(73) For a detailed survey of the “holy spirit” in the writings found at Qumran see the recent article of Eibert J.C. Tigchelaar, “Historical Origins of the Early Christian Concept of the Holy Spirit: Perspectives from the Dead Sea Scrolls,” in *The Holy Spirit, Inspiration, and the Cultures of Antiquity: Multidisciplinary Perspectives* (ed. Jörg Frey and John R. Levison; Ekstasis 5; Berlin: De Gruyter, 2014), 167–240.

(74) Or: the holy spirit is endowed by God after *He* purifies the elect; see Tigchelaar, “Historical Origins,” 223–24.

(75) See also below, sections 5 and 6.

(76) For an analysis of this passage and its relationship to the idea of the Damascus passages see Levison, *Filled with the Spirit*, 131–33.

(77) John Strugnell and Daniel J. Harrington, *Qumran Cave 4. XXIV: Sapiential Texts, Part 2* (DJD 34; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1999), 90; Qimron, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 2:154; my translation.

(78) Note also a similar idea in the same column of 4QInstruction: אַל תַּמְכֹּר [תַּמְכֹּר] נַפְשְׁךָ בְּהֶון “do not sell your soul for (any) wealth” (4Q416 2 ii 17).

(79) Menahem Kister, “Qumran, Jubilees, and the Jewish Dimensions of 2 Corinthians 6:14–7:1,” in *The Religious Worldviews Reflected in the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 103–39, esp. 110–13. A warning that intermingling with sinners means becoming guilty like them actually occurs at the end of our passage, CD 5:14–15.

to Sekki, the majority seems to be correct. His arguments are the following: the genitive suffix refers to humans; it is difficult to believe that CD regards man as having dominance over God's Spirit even to the point of *defiling* it; *ruah* in these passages does not refer "to the transcendent and autonomous Spirit of God"; the phraseology of CD 7:4 "is analogous to the levitical expression *וְלֹא תִשְׁקְצוּ אֶת נַפְשֵׁיכֶם* [Lev 20:25] ... and probably has a similar meaning." (80) To my mind, however, the dichotomy between "the Holy Spirit" and "holy spirit" in the Jewish sources is not helpful for understanding the subtleties of this term and the notion(s) reflected in it: while the term "holy spirit" implies its *divine origin*, the possessive pronouns attached to it imply its being *part of the human self*. (81) On the one hand, "your holy spirit" is synonymous with "your souls" in Lev 20:25, but on the other hand—as we have seen above—it is probably related to the following verse in Leviticus, "you shall be holy for me, for holy am I, the Lord"; the holiness of the soul (or the spirit) is related to God's holiness. Moreover, the accusation "they defile their holy spirit" is considered—on the level of redaction—as an explanation to "the defilement of the Sanctuary"; there is, then, an analogy between *God's* abiding in the Temple and his "holy spirit" abiding of in humans.

Why do the opponents mentioned in CD 5:11 ("the builders of the wall") have a "holy spirit" at all? (82) Possibly, the "holy spirit" dwells within every human being (at least potentially). (83) This understanding will be discussed below (sections 7–8).

6. Defilement of the Holy Spirit that Dwells within Humans in the Shepherd of Hermas

Audet, as early as 1953, noted a similar notion—the defilement caused to the holy spirit that dwells within humans—in the *Shepherd of Hermas* (2nd century CE). (84) Let me cite three passages:

(80) Arthur Sekki, *The Meaning of Ruah at Qumran* (Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, 1989), 112–14; see also the discussion there, at p. 75.

(81) It may well be argued that the emergence of the holy spirit as part of the self has much in common with the emergence of *yeṣer ha-ra'*, at least phenomenologically: while the latter constitutes an internalization of the demonic, the former is an internalization of the divine. Both entities are simultaneously within the personality and outside it, and their relations with the real "I" are ambiguous.

(82) This is the only passage in which "holy spirit" refers to outsiders.

(83) Admittedly, one cannot rule out the possibility that God's holy spirit had been bestowed on the "builders of the wall" as former members of the community and that the defilement of the holy spirit is caused by their becoming apostates (if indeed they are considered as apostates).

(84) Jean-Paul Audet, "Affinités littéraires et doctrinal du Manuel de Discipline (2)," *RB* 60 (1953): 41–82, 65.

Mand. 5.1 [33] (2) For if you are patient, *the holy spirit that dwells* (τὸ κατοικοῦν) in you will be pure (καθαρόν), not darkened by some other, evil spirit... (3) But if an angry temper approach, immediately the holy spirit, which is very sensitive, is distressed because it does not have a clean (καθαρόν) place... it is defiled (μιαινόμενον) by the angry temper. For *the Lord dwells* (κατοικεῖ) in patience, but the devil [dwells] in angry temper. (85)

Parab. 5.6 (5) The preexistent holy spirit, which created the whole creation, God caused to dwell (κατώκησε) in the flesh that He wished. This flesh in which the holy spirit dwelt, served the spirit well, living in a manner distinguished and pure (ἀγνεία), without defiling the spirit (μίανασα τὸ πνεῦμα) in any way. (6) ... While possessing the holy spirit upon the earth it was not defiled. (7) So He took the Son and the glorious angels as counselors... For all flesh in which the holy spirit dwelt, will receive a reward if it proves to be undefiled (ἀμίαντος) and spotless. (86)

Mand. 3.1–2 [28] Love truth ... in order that *the spirit that God caused to dwell* in this flesh may prove to be true ... and thus *the Lord who dwells in you* will be glorified ...

Therefore those who lie ... do not return to Him the deposit that they received. For they received from Him a spirit uncontaminated by deceit. If they render a spirit of lying they have *defiled the Lord's commandment* and committed fraud. (87)

These passages reflect ideas of theological anthropology. Jewish ideas are adapted in them to the new Christian context (88) (though

(85) Michael W. Holmes, *The Apostolic Fathers: Greek Texts and English Translations* (3rd ed.; Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2007), 516–17. My translation here and below is based on Holmes' translation, with many alterations. See also *Hermas*, *Mand.* 10.2.2 (41) (Holmes, *The Apostolic Fathers*, 536–37).

(86) Holmes, *The Apostolic Fathers*, 580–81. For the problems posed by this passage and the solutions proposed by scholars see Carolyn Osiek, *Shepherd of Hermas: A Commentary* (Hermeneia; Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 1999), 178–81.

(87) Holmes, *The Apostolic Fathers*, 506–07.

(88) See Jean Daniélou, *Théologie du Judéo-Christianisme* (Paris: Desclée, 1958), 192–96; Oscar Seitz, "Two Spirits in Man: An Essay in Biblical Exegesis," *NTS* 6 (1959–60): 82–95; Norbert Brox, *Der Hirt des Hermas* (KAV 7; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1991), 318–28. Brox struggles with the difference between Christ and the Christian and with the distinction between "der Heilige Geist" that dwells in Jesus and "der heilige Geist" that dwells in every Christian. For a survey of the various scholarly opinions concerning this difficult passage see Bogdan G. Bucur, *Angelomorphic Pneumatology* (SVC 95; Leiden: Brill, 2009), 113–38. Similar ideas occur also in *Demonstration* 6 of the Syrian writer, Aphrahat, as observed by N. Ibrahim Fredrikson, "L'Esprit Saint et les esprits mauvais dans le Pasteur d'Hermas: Sources et prolongements," *VC* 55 (2001): 262–80. Aphrahat is discussed on pp. 274–76. Aphrahat cites Paul, but Fredrikson points out affinities of Aphrahat's conceptions with those of Hermas, and concludes that they have a common source. I am not sure (*pace* Audet and

not always successfully (89)). The first and the second passages refer to the holy spirit that dwells within humans. The first passage is clearly dualistic (the “holy spirit” is opposed to the “evil spirit”); in the second passage the “holy spirit” is more precisely defined: it is preexistent and it created the whole world; according to the first and the third passage the dwelling of the holy spirit in humans is also the dwelling of God in them (*Mand.* 3.1; 5.1.2). (90) The third passage, however, has a striking parallel in a rabbinic midrash referring to the human soul at one’s death: “’and the spirit (רוח) returns to God who gave it’ (Eccl 12:7)—return it [i.e., your spirit] to Him as He gave it to you, in purity” (*b. Shabbat* 152b. By the way, this parallel indicates that the expression “defiled the Lord’s commandment” in *Hermas* 3.2 is a transformation of “defiled the Lord’s spirit” or “the holy spirit,” as in the other two passages of *Hermas*). (91) These passages display, then, complex ideas concerning the essence of “the holy spirit” closely related to God on the one hand and to the “holy spirit” in the human self on the other hand. (92)

7. The Holy Spirit and Adam

Schechter, the first publisher of the Damascus Document, was the first to point out the apparent affinity of the notion that the holy spirit dwells in human beings (CD 5:11) with the two versions of the Hebrew *Testament of Naphtali*, (93) a medieval text which is apparently a reworking of a lost work that originated in Antiquity:

Fredrikson) that there is a *literary* relationship among the various sources; more likely, they share and rework traditions and clusters of ideas.

(89) This applies particularly to the recasting of Jewish ideas concerning anthropology to the Christian (and Christological) passage, *Parab.* 5.6.

(90) Thus Daniélou, *Théologie*, 193. This is played down by Brox, *Der Hirt des Hermas*, 219 n. 5.

(91) Seitz notes the rabbinic parallel to *Mand.* 3.1–2, and remarks, “Is not this ‘spirit’ simply the soul which God is said to have breathed into man when he was first formed? (Gen 2:7).” (Seitz, “Two Spirits,” 86 and n. 4); Martin Dibelius, *Die Apostolischen Väter. IV: Der Hirt des Hermas* (HNT-Ergänzungs-Band; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1923), 502; Martin Dibelius, *James* (trans. Michael A. William; Hermeneia; Philadelphia, PA: Fortress Press, 1975), 221–24 (esp. 223 n. 83); “Dass Gott den Geist in Menschen wohnen machte (sc., mit der schöpfung; anders Joly: ein ‚Geist‘ nur für Christen) liest man wörtlich auch Jak 4:5” (Brox, *Der Hirt des Hermas*, 199, interpreting *Mand.* 3:2).

(92) *Hermas* as well as the Dead Sea scrolls (and other sources) know of many spirits (Dibelius, *James*, 224). “There is never any mention of several co-existent holy spirits—so dominant is the *Christian concept of the one Holy spirit*” (ibid.; italics mine). But this is probably not the case: “the holy spirit” in our passage of the Damascus Document is not one of many spirits.

(93) Schechter, *Fragments of a Zadokite Work*, xxxvi n. 20. Schechter was followed by many scholars.

א) לפיכך נאה לו לאדם לשים על לבו כל אלו מי הוא שבראו... וזרק בו נשמת חיים ורוח טהורה מאתו. אשרי האדם לא יטנף את רוחו.

- a) It is therefore appropriate for a person to pay heed for all of the following: who created him... and set (literally: threw) into him the breath of life and pure spirit from Him. Blessed is the person who will not defile his spirit. (94)

ב) ואשרי אדם שלא יטמא רוח אלהים שבקרבו במעשיו הרעים וטוב לו אם ישיבנה לבוראו טהורה כיום שהופקד בתוכו

- b) And blessed be the one who does not defile by his evil deeds God's spirit within him, and blessed be he if he returns it to his Creator (scil. when he dies) as pure as it has been when it was entrusted to him. (95)

In these passages "God's spirit" is the pure soul that has been set within every human being, (96) and should not be defiled by evil deeds. This is a striking parallel to Hermas, *Mand.* 3.1–2, (97) and to the rabbinic midrash cited above. (98) *The Hebrew Testament of Naphtali Version A* makes use of the collocation נשמת חיים "breath of life." Evidently, the "breath of life" here is related to the pure spirit granted by God, or to God's holy spirit dwelling within each human being. The expression "breath of life" is derived from Gen 2:7: (99)

וַיִּצְרֶה אֱלֹהִים אֶת הָאָדָם עָפָר מִן הָאֲדָמָה וַיִּפֹּחַ בְּאַפָּיו נְשָׁמַת חַיִּים

Then the Lord God formed man of dust from the ground, and breathed into his face the breath of life.

According to other biblical verses, human beings in general are composed from dust (עפר) and רוח (spirit); "God's spirit" is synonymous to God's "breath of life" in Gen 2:7:

(94) Shlomo A. Wertheimer, *Batei Midrashot* (2nd ed.; ed. Abraham J. Wertheimer; Jerusalem: Mosad ha-Rav Kuk, 1950), 1:198 (in Hebrew). The antecedent to the word רוחו "his spirit" can be either the human being or God.

(95) Wertheimer, *Batei Midrashot*, 1:203.

(96) See, e.g., *b. Berakhot* 60b.

(97) This was noted by Brox, *Der Hirt des Hermas*, 199.

(98) For this motif in the *Hebrew Testament of Naphtali* and its counterparts in rabbinic literature see Louis Ginzberg, *An Unknown Jewish Sect* (New York, NY: Jewish Theological Seminary, 1970), 25.

(99) See Sekki, *The meaning of Ruah*, 113: "Ruah in CD 5:11 and 7:4 probably refers to the natural spirit of man which he has from birth (perhaps also renewed in the sense of Ezek 36:26) as opposed to the transcendent and autonomous Spirit of God." For the verse in Genesis, see Richard C. Steiner, *Disembodied Souls: The Nefesh in Israel and Kindred Spirits in the Ancient Near East* (Atlanta, GA: SBL Press, 2015), 84–86.

יֵשֵׁב הָעֶפֶר עַל הָאָרֶץ כְּשֶׁהָיָה וְהָרוּחַ תָּשׁוּב אֶל הָאֱלֹהִים אֲשֶׁר נָתַןָּהּ

And the dust returns to the earth as it was, and the spirit returns to God who gave it (Eccl 12:7). (100)

רוּחַ אֱלֹהִים עָשָׂה לִּי וְנִשְׁמַת שְׂדֵי תַחֲיִי

The spirit of God has made me, and the breath of the Almighty gives me life (Job 33:4). (101)

A tiny fragment from Qumran indicates that the breath of God in Gen 2:7 was indeed interpreted as “holy spirit” as early as the Second Temple period. This raises new questions concerning the relationship of the holy spirit to human beings. The fragment (4Q446 frag. 3) consists of five words preserved out of two lines. It reads: (102)

לְעֶפֶר תְּשׁוּקָתָנוּ⁰]
רוּחַ קֹדֶשׁ [נִפְתַּחְתָּהּ בִּי]

]to dust we return

] holy [spir]it you breathed [into ...] (103)

The reading, according to older photographs, is virtually certain, (104) and the reconstruction רוּחַ [רוּ] in the second line is most probable.

The phrase וְלְעֶפֶר תְּשׁוּקָתָנוּ describes the human condition in 1QS 11:22: “he is ... moulded clay and to dust he returns,” (105) and the parallel to this passage in 1QH^a 18:4: “What, וְמָה אִפְּהוּא אָדָם וְאִדְמָה הוּא מִ[חֹמֶר] קוֹרֵץ וְלְעֶפֶר תְּשׁוּבָתוֹ

(100) See also Steiner, *Disembodied Souls*, 88–89. The midrash in *b. Shabbat* 152b cited above is based on this verse.

(101) Cf. also Job 32:8.

(102) The reading is that proposed by Chanan Ariel and Alexei Yuditzky (according to photograph B-298827; see also B-284818; see photographs at the Leon Levi Dead Sea Scrolls Digital Library, <https://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/search?q='4Q446'>), and published by Qimron, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 3:184. Tigchelaar (who apparently had no access to this photograph) read this fragment as follows (“4QPoetic Text A,” in *Qumran Cave 4. XX: Poetical and Liturgical Texts, Part 2* [DJD 29; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1999], 385–88, esp. 387–88):

וְלְעֶפֶר תְּשׁוּקָתָנוּ
[פְּדוּתֶיךָ]¹⁰⁰

(103) Either בָּנוּ, “[into us]” (in the plural, as in the preceding line), or בּוּ, “in [him]”, i.e., in Adam (in the singular, as in Gen 2:7).

(104) Despite the former reading in DJD; see above, n. 102.

(105) The word תְּשׁוּקָתוֹ means “his return”; see Jacob Licht, *The Rule Scroll* (Jerusalem: Bialik Institute, 1965), 237 (in Hebrew); Menahem Kister, “Metamorphoses of Aggadic Traditions,” *Tarbiz* 60 (1991): 179–224, esp. 220–22 (in Hebrew); Jan Joosten, “Sectarian Terminology and Biblical Exegesis: The Meaning of the Verb אָוַת in Qumran writings,” *Meghillot* 1 (2003): 219–26, esp. 220–21 (in Hebrew).

then, is man? He is nothing but earth; from [clay] he is fashioned and to dust he returns” (106) (based on Gen 3:19: עפר אתה ואל עפר תשוב, “You are dust, and to dust you shall return”). In the writings of the *yahad*, and especially in the Hodayot, the word עפר (“dust”) refers the base (bodily) human nature. The word [נ]פחתה in the second line of 4Q446 3 is an evident allusion to Gen 2:7 cited above. According to this fragment God breathed into Adam קודש [ר]ח, “holy spirit,” equivalent to the collocation נשמת חיים in the biblical verse. By extension, every human being possesses—at least potentially—both body (“dust”) and “holy spirit”. Apparently, this is not just the breath of life; rather it refers to a component that somehow shares the divine nature, and is derived from—and perhaps also situated in—the divine sphere. (107)

Let us return now to our passage in the Damascus Document. Apparently, the “holy spirit” that dwells in human beings as if in a temple and is defiled by evil deeds and speech is a liminal entity between the divine and the human self.

8. From Universalism to Grace Theology

How is this conception of the holy spirit related to the sectarian conception of the holy spirit as a special gift of grace? The phraseology in 4Q446 3 is rather close to the Hodayot. It seems to me that the former may shed some light on the latter.

“Dust” and “spirit” are juxtaposed—and contrasted—twice in the Hodayot:

[אני י]צֹר העפר ידעתי ברוח אשר נתתה בי

[I, a cr]eature of dust, have known through the spirit that You have put within me... (108)

(106) See Carol Newsom, “Flesh, Spirit, and the Indigenous Psychology of the Hodayot,” in *Prayer and Poetry in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Related Literature: Essays in Honor of Eileen Schuller on the Occasion of Her 65th Birthday* (ed. Jeremy Penner et al.; STDJ 98; Leiden: Brill, 2012), 339–54.

(107) See Marie E. Isaacs, *The Concept of Spirit: A Study of Pneuma in Hellenistic Judaism and its Bearing on the New Testament* (Heythrop Monographs 1; London: H. Charleworth & Co., 1976), 18–42, esp. 19, 21. See Philo’s assertions, “What he breathed in was nothing else than the divine spirit (πνεῦμα θεῶν) which has emigrated here from that blessed and flourishing nature [of God] for the assistance of our kind” (*Creation* 135, trans. David T. Runia, *On the Creation of the Cosmos according to Moses* [Leiden: Brill, 2001], 82); “Every human being, as far as his mind is concerned, is akin to the divine Logos and has come into being as a casting or fragment or effulgence of the blessed nature” (*Creation* 146; *ibid.*, 85). For the a detailed commentary see Runia, *On the Creation*, 326–27, 345.

(108) 1QH^a 21:34; see Qimron, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 1:93.

ועל עפר הניפּוּתָה רוּחַ [קֹדֶשְׁכָּה ויִצְר טִיט] בְּסוֹן אֱלִים לְהַחֲדִיד עִם
בְּנֵי שָׁמַיִם

And upon dust You have spread/poured [Your holy] spirit, [and a crea]ture
of clay [You...] to be in communion with the gods (= angels) the
sons of heaven. (109)

According to the anthropology of the Hodayot, “dust” signifies the base human nature, whereas the “spirit” endowed by God enables the elect to become angel-like. “Spirit,” God’s gift of grace, is associated with knowledge and understanding, (110) and is closely linked with the purification by God (cf. Ezek 36:25–27). (111) It is also called “holy spirit.” (112)

The transformation of the self by God’s spirit, according to the anthropology of the Hodayot, follows the expectation of Ezekiel that eventually God’s spirit, the “new spirit,” will be given to the Israelites (Ezek 36:26–27: “a *new spirit I will put within you*; and I will take out of your flesh the heart of stone and give you a heart of flesh. And I will put *my spirit* (113) *within you*, and cause you to walk in my statutes and be careful to observe my ordinances”). (114) In a paraphrase of Ezekiel in the Book of Jubilees this spirit is dubbed “the holy spirit” (“I will create a holy spirit for them and will purify them in order that they many not turn away from me from that time forever”; Jub. 1:23). (115)

In 4Q446 3, however, the phraseology is evidently borrowed from the verse describing Adam’s creation. It seems to imply that Adam himself and all his descendants are composed of dust (body) and of

(109) 1QH^a 23:29–30; see Hartmut Stegemann and Eileen Schuller, *Qumran Cave 1. III: 1QH^a 40* (DJD 40; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2009), 277; Qimron, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 1:97.

(110) Cf. LXX Daniel 5:12; 6:3.

(111) See Newsom, “Flesh, Spirit, and the Indigenous Psychology,” 345–50; eadem, “Deriving Negative Anthropology through Exegetical Activity: The Hodayot as Case Study,” in *Is There a Text in This Cave? Studies in the Textuality of the Dead Sea Scrolls in Honour of George J. Brooke* (ed. Ariel Feldman et al.; STDJ 119; Leiden: Brill, 2017), 258–74.

(112) See קֹדֶשְׁךָ רוּחַ הַנִּיפּוּתָה עַל עֲבָדֶיךָ “You have spread/sprinkled Your holy spirit upon your servant” (1QH^a 4:38); ורוּחַ קֹדֶשְׁךָ הַנִּיפּוּתָה בִּי “You have spread/sprinkled Your holy spirit upon/within me” (1QH^a 15:9–10); Newsom, “Flesh, Spirit,” 349.

(113) The Targum renders וְאֵת רוּחִי in Ezek 36:27 by רִיט רוּחַ קֹדֶשְׁךָ.

(114) Newsom, “Flesh, Spirit,” 350; Tigchelaar, “Historical Origins,” 223–24.

(115) The translation is according to James C. VanderKam, *The Book of Jubilees: Translation* (CSCO 511; Leuven: Peeters, 1989), 5. For the reception of Ps 51 and Ezek 36 in ancient Judaism, see Menahem Kister, “Body and Sin: Romans and Colossians in Light of Qumranic and Rabbinic Texts,” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls and Pauline Literature* (ed. Jean-Sébastien Rey; STDJ 102; Leiden: Brill, 2014), 171–207, esp. 179. For the rendering of “God’s spirit” by “holy spirit” see also above, n. 113.

the “holy spirit” that God breathed into Adam, namely the soul (or part of it), and that belongs to the divine realm. (116)

Notwithstanding the similar phraseology of 4Q446 3 and the Hodayot, there are essential differences between them; these boil down to the difference between Gen 2:7 and Ezek 36:26–27 (especially when the latter is restricted in the Hodayot to the few elect that joined the community). This tension could be resolved if the bestowal of the eschatological “holy spirit” were conceived of as a restoration of the spirit that God breathed into Adam (117); but in the texts hitherto published there is scarcely any clue to such a far-reaching ideological construct. (118) It seems fair to suggest that the Hodayot accommodates an existing phraseology of the indwelling “holy spirit” derived from Gen 2:7 to its own negative-anthropology-and-election theology. (119) Thus the universalistic phraseology became sectarian, dominated by the ideology of salvation-by-grace.

(116) Cf. Philo, *Creation* 135.

(117) Compare Newsom, “Deriving Negative Anthropology,” 270, as well as Sekki’s brief parenthetical note (*The meaning of Ruah*, 113). Note also the well-known passage in the *Serekh* in which the statement that God “will cleanse him [i.e., man] with the spirit of holiness (ברוח קודש) from all wicked deeds” (1QS 4:21) is followed by the sentence “all the glory of Adam (or: of humanity) will be theirs” (1QS 4:23); it should be underscored, however, that the text does not suggest any linkage of the two sentences.

(118) Two fragmentary texts should be mentioned: (1) Qimron (*The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 3:166) reads and reconstructs 4Q422 1 i 7: ורוח קודש[ן] נפח באפיון (equally possible: ורוח קודש [נפח בן]). It is quite plausible that the “holy spirit” is mentioned here not as related to the creation of the world (see Ariel Feldman and Liora Goldman, *Scripture and Interpretation: Qumran Texts that Rework the Bible* [BZAW 449; Berlin: De Gruyter, 2014], 88), but rather related to Adam’s creation, as in 446 3. Qimron reads 4Q22 1 i 12 ויצר רע ללב ערל [המשי]ל בו יצר רע ללב ערל “‘[He gave ru]le over him to *yeṣer ra*’ and an uncircumcised heart” (after the disobedience of Adam and his descendants). If these two lines are related, and if line 7 refers to the creation of Adam, the eschatological circumcision of the heart is conceived of as a restoration of the “holy spirit” breathed in Adam (cf. Jub. 1:23: “I will cut away the foreskins of their minds and the foreskins of their descendants’ minds. I will create a holy spirit for them and will purify them in order that they may not turn away from me”). Unfortunately, however, the text is too fragmentary for such far-reaching conclusions. (2) Tigchelaar (“Historical Origins,” 213) suggests that the words וברוחו העמידם למשל בכל אלה (4Q381 1 7) combines Gen 2:7 and Ezek 37:10 (“and the breath came into them, and they lived and stood upon their feet”). It seems to me preferable, however, to render the words העמידם למשל “He appointed them to rule.” According to this interpretation, the wording is not related to Ezek 37.

(119) Newsom, “Deriving Negative Anthropology,” 268–70 rightly points out the significant similarity between the negative anthropology in verses of the Book of Job (e.g., 4:18–19; 15:14; 25:4–6). The obvious difference between these verses and the Hodayot should be accentuated, however: in the Book of Job there is no release from the negative nature of humans whereas in the Hodayot the negative anthropology is the starting point for the great transformation of humans. This may be regarded as

Conclusion

I have treated several levels of a passage of the Damascus Document and related texts. The textual scrutiny carried out in the present article enables us both to gain insight into the emergence of textual pluriformity (and of a convoluted text) and to elucidate conceptual and exegetical dimensions of various religious conceptions. The significance of this scrutiny transcends the boundaries of this passage: the textual discussion of the two recensions embedded in the text provides a new perspective for the study of similar phenomena in rabbinic literature; (120) the various conceptions of the indwelling “holy spirit” inspire the discussion of ancient Christian writings and raise questions concerning a possible relationship of notions in Jewish Palestine to Hellenistic ones.

Let me recapitulate the main conclusions:

1. *The Text and its Expansion*

To my mind, the most dominant textual phenomenon in this text is its expansion. Thus, a simple sentence such as **בוני החיץ הם ניתפסים** **בשמים בזנות וגם מטמאים הם את המקדש** became a multi-layered complex of passages by adding an expansion upon expansion and by merging various recensions. The expansion of the text blurs its lucid construction. It may be noted that such a phenomenon is discernible in *Serekh ha-Yahad*, *IQMilhama* and in other works of the Second Temple period. (121) Moreover, *cIβ* (“and lie with women who see the blood of their issue”) may retain the embryonic stage of the text. A possible reason for such a situation may be that the redactor of this passage was more interested in specifying the halakhic transgressions of the *zēnut* category.

2. *The Two Recensions, Biblical Interpretation, and Anthropology*

I contend that in our CD passage two recensions of the Damascus Document were merged together. These recensions share the same

an indication that the theology of the Hodayot is not *derived* from Job through exegetical activity; the notions in verses of the Book of Job serve as theological building blocks of the innovative Hodayot theology.

(120) See Kister, “The Development of Early Recensions,” 76 n. 40. A thorough investigation of these phenomena in rabbinic literature is still a desideratum.

(121) I have dealt with this phenomenon elsewhere. See Menahem Kister, “Commentary to 4Q298,” *JQR* 85 (1994): 237–49, esp. 245–49; idem, “The Root *NDB* in the Scrolls and the Growth of Qumran Texts: Lexicography and Theology,” *Meghillot* 11–12 (2014–15): 111–30 (in Hebrew).

phraseological framework, but not necessarily the content. This explains the awkward order of the subjects. The duplication of the phrase כִּי מִלְפְּנֵימָם (“for in ancient times”) in 5:14–15, 17 can also be explained as a combination of the two recensions that share a phraseological framework. With the help of CD 7:3–4 it can be demonstrated that the two explanations to the third net of Belial (*c1* and *c2*) are two elaborations, differing in character, of one biblical passage, “you shall separate ... and you shall be holy for me, for holy am I, the Lord” (Lev 20:25–26). Accordingly, one recension reads “they do not separate” whereas the other reads “they defile their holy spirit,” each elaborating on another part of the same verse. The biblical verses were conceived of as a prohibition to defile one’s *nefesh* (interpreted as “soul”) because it is holy by God’s holiness.

In the larger context, that of the redaction, the sentence “they defile their holy spirit” (*c2*) is an explication of “the defilement of the Sanctuary.” It expresses the idea that God’s holy spirit dwells in human beings as if in a Temple, and is liable to being defiled by sins. Similar ideas are known to us from Paul as well as from pagan Hellenistic writers.

3. The “Holy Spirit”

The elusive conception of the indwelling holy spirit has been discussed in the last sections of the article. Passages in The Pastor of Hermas, rabbinic literature, and the medieval *Hebrew Testament of Naphtali* as well as a tiny Qumran fragment (4Q446 3) have been elucidated. It seems that the holy spirit in our passage and elsewhere is a liminal entity between the divine and the human self, the component of human beings that belongs to the divine realm. It is related to the soul, but it is not just the breath of life.

It seems that this phraseology was accommodated by the Hodayot to its own theology and anthropology of election-by-grace, according to which the “spirit” (or “holy spirit”) is endowed only to the elect (who joined the community). These two competing conceptions found their way to ancient Christian texts.

Menahem KISTER
The Hebrew University of Jerusalem

TEXTUAL PLURALITY AT THE MARGINS OF BIBLICAL TEXTS

The Miscellanies in 3 Reigns 2:35, 46

Summary

The “miscellanies” appended to 3 Rgs (1 Kgs) 2:35, 46 in the Septuagint stand on the borderline between what can be considered biblical and extra-biblical texts: they are missing in all other witnesses, they are manifestly secondary in their respective contexts, and they exhibit many features typical of midrash and rewritten bible. In the present paper it is argued that the Miscellanies were introduced at the end of 3 Rgs/1 Kgs 2 at a time when this chapter formed the conclusion of a book of Samuel that did not continue into the book of Kings. In this way the Miscellanies show once again that book ends often provide evidence for different editions of “biblical” books. Such editions continued to exist side-by-side for centuries.

THE Miscellanies appended in the Septuagint version of 1 Kgs to 2:35 and 2:46 are an integral part of the Greek Bible. According to the Cambridge edition, the first one is present in all Septuagint manuscripts (though under the *obelus* in one minuscule), while the second one is missing only in *Codex Alexandrinus* and one other manuscript as well as the Syrohexapla. They nevertheless stand on the borderline between what can be considered biblical and extra-biblical texts: they are missing in all other witnesses starting with MT, they are manifestly secondary in their respective contexts, and they exhibit many features typical of midrash, rewritten bible, and extracanonical writings. Thus they provide a fitting topic for a conference on *Textual Plurality Beyond the Biblical Texts*.

Introduction

Of all the philological problems related to the text of the Hebrew Bible, that of the so-called Miscellanies inserted in the Greek version of 1 Kgs 2 following verses 35 and 46 has proved one of the most intractable. (1) The Miscellanies are sizeable chunks of text, approximately 15 and 11 verses respectively, providing sundry information on Solomon's reign. Although they are attested in Greek only, they must ultimately go back to Hebrew sources. In what stage they were translated is debated. The units may have been composed in Hebrew and translated *en bloc*, or the verses may have been translated first, perhaps in a different context, being collected into units only in Greek. Most of the verses contained in the Miscellanies find parallels in the following chapters in the Hebrew text of 1 Kgs and, with many differences in detail, in the Greek text of 3 Rgs. But at least one verse in the Miscellanies finds its closest parallel in in Chronicles, and there are a few unparalleled statements as well. (2)

What the Miscellanies are doing in 3 Rgs 2 is not self-evident: did someone cull the statements from 1 Kgs 3–11, or from 3 Rgs 3–11, divide them over two units, and “park” the units in their present position? (3) What would be the logic of doing so? Alternatively, one could imagine that the Miscellanies were first inserted in 1 Kgs 2, and that their contents were later dispatched over the following chapters. (4) But this again raises multiple questions: why were the statements not inserted in their rightful place from the start? And why are there two Miscellanies? How do they relate to one another? In detail, there are many more questions still. For instance, the text the Miscellanies often diverges in puzzling ways from the parallels in 1 Kgs 3–11 and 3 Rgs 3–11. Also, some of the unparalleled information is hard to interpret. (5)

(1) The secondary literature is extensive, see e.g. the titles quoted in Andrés Piquer Otero, “The ‘Miscellanies’ of 3 Kgdms 2. Archaeology of Text and Context,” in *Die Septuaginta – Geschichte, Wirkung, Relevanz* (ed. Martin Meiser et al.; WUNT 405; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2018), 274–87 (275–76 n. 3–7); Guy Darshan, “The Hapax δυνάστευμα in 3 Kgdms 2:46c,” *JSCS* 51 (2018): 119–26 (notably 119 n. 1).

(2) 1 Rgs 2:35e has its closest parallel in 1 Chron 18:8 (and 2 Sam 8:8^{LXX}); 46c has no parallel, nor does the Lucianic addition “there was no *satan* all the days of Solomon” in 46h.

(3) This is the view expressed in Bernhard Stade and Friedrich Schwally, *The Books of Kings* (The Sacred Books of the Old Testament. A Critical Edition of the Hebrew Text 9; Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1904), 64–66.

(4) Thus Guy Darshan, “The Long Additions in LXX 1Kings 2 (35a–k; 46a–l) and their Importance for the Question of the Literary History of 1Kings 1–11,” *Tarbiz* 75 (2006): 5–50 (Hebrew).

(5) On 46c see the recent proposal of Darshan, “The Hapax,” 119–26. Another mystery is the identity of the κρήνη “pool” in the courtyard of the temple according to 35e.

To would-be editors of a critical edition of the text of Kings, the Miscellanies are a stumbling stone. (6) While it is relatively easy to collate the text of the Miscellanies with the parallels in the running text of 1 Kgs 3–11, and to evaluate the variant readings, it is much more difficult to get a handle on the redaction-critical import of these literary units. In the *Hebrew Bible: A Critical Edition* two or more recensional stages can be edited in parallel columns. In 1 Kings, this can often be done to good effect. (7) But before the Miscellanies can be treated in this way, clarity must be achieved on the question to which recension they belong. Do they reflect a stage in the pre-history of the MT? Or do they belong to the tradition attested in the Septuagint? And if so, do they represent its Hebrew *Vorlage*, or the work of the translator, or a subsequent reworking of the version? (8) Or are they perhaps the remnants of an otherwise unattested parallel branch in the textual history that ended up in the Greek text more or less by accident? (9)

Much excellent work has been done on the Miscellanies. Nevertheless, the enigma of these passage has not been solved to general satisfaction. The theories that have been elaborated to explain their existence diverge widely. In the present paper, a renewed analysis of some aspects of these enigmatic units will lead to the formulation of a novel hypothesis explaining why they were inserted where we find them today.

1. The Miscellanies as Secondary Insertions in their Context

Practically everyone who has studied the phenomenon of the Miscellanies has observed that they are out of place in the context in which they appear. This characteristic, together with the fact that the

(6) The team responsible for 1 Kings in the series *Hebrew Bible: A Critical Edition* is composed of Bonifatia Gesche, Jan Joosten, Jean Koulagna, and Matthieu Richelle.

(7) See the advance samples in Sidnie White Crawford, Jan Joosten, and Eugene Ulrich, "Sample Editions of the Oxford Hebrew Bible: Deuteronomy 32:1–9, 1 Kings 11:1–8, and Jeremiah 27:1–10 (34 G)," *VT* 58 (2008): 352–66.

(8) Following the work of David Gooding, Van Keulen has opted for a Greek origin of the Miscellanies, see Percy S. F. van Keulen, *Two Versions of the Solomon Narrative: An Inquiry into the Relationship between MT 1 Kgs. 2–11 and LXX 3 Reg. 2–11* (SVT 104; Leiden: Brill, 2005), 265–75. Most other scholars who have expressed an opinion on this point have preferred to postulate an origin in Hebrew, see e.g. Frank H. Polak, "The Septuagintal Account of Solomon's Reign: Revision and Ancient Recension," in *X Congress of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies, Oslo 1998* (ed. Bernard A. Taylor; SBLSCS 51; Atlanta, GA: SBL, 2001), 139–64 (144–45).

(9) Perhaps the "Alternative Story" of the schism contained in 3 Rgs 12:24a–z may illustrate this type of scenario.

MT does not contain them, has led to the nearly universal judgment that the Miscellanies are secondary additions to a basic text that was—at least in this part of the book of Kings—otherwise rather similar to the proto-Masoretic type. This judgment is almost certainly correct. Indeed, The discontinuities between the Miscellanies and their close context could hardly be greater.

a) Chronologically, the two passages introduce information on deeds of Solomon that will happen much later than what is told in the surrounding verses. (10) The near context in 1 Kgs 2 tells of the struggle that preceded Solomon's occupation of his father's throne. In the MT, 1 Kgs 2:12 and 2:46 assert that the kingdom was established in the hands of Solomon, and similar statements are found in 3 Kgs 2:12 and 2:35. The intervening narrative tells how this came about. Only from 1 Kgs 3 onward can Solomon's kingship be regarded as an uncontested reality. The Miscellanies for their part recount the organization of Solomon's court, his building activities, including the building of the Temple and the royal palace, and his international fame. These events and circumstances, particularly the building activities, are situated much later in time than the events recounted in the rest of chapter 2. Verse 35c states explicitly: "in seven years he made and finished them (i.e., the Temple, the palace and the wall of Jerusalem)." These seven years do not fit into the time-frame envisaged in 2 Kgs 2. (11) The chronological discrepancy is underscored by the fact that most of the verses of the Miscellanies have parallels in the following chapters, where the events are told more or less in their proper sequence.

b) Stylistically, the Miscellanies stand out as reports, or lists, in an otherwise purely narrative context. The finale of the "Succession History" (or "Court History") in 1 Kgs 2 deploys all the considerable resources of the biblical story: foreshadowing, surprise, realistic characterization, gapped presentation, and what have you. (12) In contrast, the Miscellanies, with the exception of 35l–o, enumerate states and events without regard for temporal sequence. Although they exhibit a literary structure, about which more will be said in the next section, this structure is not of a narrative type. The first Miscellany occurs toward the end of the narrative development, the second one after the curtain

(10) See e.g. Emanuel Tov, "The LXX Additions (Miscellanies) in 1 Kings 2 (3 Reigns 2)," *Textus* 11 (1984): 89–118.

(11) Note the mention in 2:39 of a three-year interval between David's injunction to kill Shimei (2:35o) and his execution.

(12) See e.g. Jan Fokkelman, *Narrative Art and Poetry in the Books of Samuel*. Vol. I: *King David (Sam 9–20 & Kings 1–2)* (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1981).

has dropped. The stylistic switch, from narration to report and back, is felt very keenly in both instances.

c) In redaction-historical perspective, the miscellanies contain verses of varied origin, whereas the text in which they are embedded is literarily much more homogeneous. The narrative of 1 Kgs 2:1–46 recounts the latest episode in the Succession History, begun in 2 Sam 9 or 11. The chapter links up with—and gives closure to—events told in 2 Sam 9–20 and 1 Kgs 1: David’s entanglements with Joab, Barzillai and Shimei; Adonijah’s coup and Solomon’s counter-coup, and their respective supporters. Whether or not the whole chapter flowed from one pen, it must have been written successively and in continuity with the preceding chapters. (13) As against this, the Miscellanies throw together archival information and propagandistic statements in a strange hodge-podge that must go back to a variety of sources. (14)

d) Finally, it is important to note that the Miscellanies express a different view of Solomon than do the environing verses. The image of Solomon in the narrative of 1 Kgs 2 is ambiguous. The young king impresses more by his efficiency than his magnanimity. The story ironically contrasts the pious words of the characters with their ruthless acts. The “wisdom” attributed to Solomon (1 Kgs 2:6, 9) appears to be strictly his capacity to eliminate his adversaries efficiently. In the Miscellanies one will look in vain for irony of this (or any) kind. Solomon is presented as a powerful king whose glory is manifest in the entire world. (15)

Trebolle and Schenker have argued that the textual state reflected in the Greek reflects a relatively early version of the book of Kings and that the MT is the result of secondary smoothing. (16) But the above observations confirm the secondary nature of the Miscellanies. Within their own local context, they are clearly recognizable as alien material that was added to an older base text.

(13) The language and the style of 1 Kgs 1–2 are those of the earlier chapters in the succession narrative. Many scholars nevertheless believe 1 Kgs 1–2 is in large part made up of secondary supplements. But this is not the place to document the various approaches to the redaction history of these chapters.

(14) On the presence of early and late elements in the Miscellanies, see e.g. Polak, “Septuagintal Account,” 139–64.

(15) The ideology of the Miscellanies is close to that of Chronicles, see e.g. Darshan, “Long Additions,” 5–50.

(16) See Julio C. Trebelle Barrera, *Salomón y Jeroboam: Historia de la recension y redacción de 1 Reyes 2–12, 14* (Salamanca: Universidad de Salamanca, 1980), 321; Adrian Schenker, *Septante et texte massorétique dans l’histoire la plus ancienne du texte de 1 Rois 2–14* (CRB 48; Paris: Gabalda, 2000), 22–27 and 45–59.

2. The Insertion of the Miscellanies into their context

The Miscellanies were added secondarily to an existing base text. But the addition was not done without art. The miscellaneous contents were put together with scribal craftsmanship. Moreover, the way they were inserted into the narrative reflects much thought and sophistication. We will first look at their internal composition, and then at the way they were integrated into the running text of 1 Kgs 2.

2.1. *The composition of the Miscellanies*

The two units present a similar structure, with an initial statement praising Solomon's wisdom (35a–b, 46a) followed by a list of achievements. The lists consist of heterogeneous elements, as was already stated, arranged in some form of concentric structure. (17) Miscellany I and II have a few common themes, such as Solomon's building of cities (35^{i, k} and 46^d) and the number of his officials (35^h and 46^h), but they globally present distinct aspects of Solomon's reign: Misc I enumerates his deeds pertaining to Israel, while Misc II is oriented more to his international standing. For all these reasons, most specialists who have studied them attribute the composition of the two Miscellanies to the same hand. As their common structure shows, they were from the start conceived as two paragraphs.

The studied way the materials are presented—the structure of each unit, and the way they are distributed over two thematic units—makes it very difficult to regard the Miscellanies as a *Variantensammlung* as Hänel proposed many years ago. (18) The hypothesis has recently been revived, in a different form, by Zipora Talshir. (19) Talshir argues that the Miscellanies reflect a stage in the reworking of the proto-MT of 1 Kgs 2–11 that issued in the Hebrew *Vorlage* of 3 Reigns. Finding different types of anomalies and asperities in the Hebrew text of 1 Kgs, a reviser cut out some passages that he found disruptive, copied them into a provisional document, and introduced most of them in a different

(17) Compare for instance 35c and 35k: “the house of the Lord and the wall of Jerusalem roundabout”; 46b and 46k are almost identical in their first half. See further Darshan, “Long Additions,” 5–50. Piquer Otero has observed that the structure of both Miscellanies resembles that of royal inscriptions from the Ancient Near East, see Piquer Otero, “Miscellanies,” 280–82.

(18) See Johannes Hänel, “Die Zusätze der Septuaginta in 1 Reg 2 35a–o und 46 a–l,” ZAW 47 (1929): 76–79.

(19) See Ziporah Talshir, “The Miscellanies in 3 Reigns 2:35a–o, 2:46a–l and the Composition of the Books of Kings/Reigns,” in *XIV Congress of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies, Helsinki, 2010* (ed. Melvin K. H. Peters; SBLSCS 59; Atlanta, GA: SBL, 2013), 155–74.

place in his revision. The Miscellanies represent the provisional document. The idea is brilliant, but it does not accord with the literary form given to the Miscellanies as we find them. This form is certainly artificial. One may even judge that it is futile. (20) But its existence should not be denied. The Miscellanies are not a stray page out of a reviser's notebook. They were carefully composed according to well-recognized techniques.

2.2. *The Interweaving of the Additions into the Base Text*

If the two Miscellanies were composed to function side by side, it is a small step to suppose that they were from the start intended for insertion into their present context. As we will see presently, in their present location, the presentation in two parts makes good sense. The Miscellanies are arranged around an organic section of the original story: (21)

LXX	MT
Misc I	—
Execution of Shimei (v. 36–45)	id.
Misc II	—

The last four verses of Misc I, 3 Rgs 2:35^{l-o}, recall how David when he was yet alive enjoined Solomon to execute Shimei, who had cursed him with a grievous curse (= 1 Kgs 2:8–9 MT). David prefaces his request with the following words: “And now do not hold him guiltless, *for you are a wise man*” (35^o = 2:9). These words have a notable effect on the whole composition. In the present state of the Greek text, Misc I, the Shimei story and Misc II form a triptych, illustrating various applications of Solomon's wisdom: in internal affairs, in the case pertaining to Shimei, and in international relations.

Most specialists regard 35^{l-o} as part of Misc I, a judgment that I will buttress in the next section. Other scholars, however, hold that 35^{l-o} figured in the narrative sequence prior to the addition of the Miscellanies. (22) They argue that these verses are not an organic part

(20) Talshir, “Miscellanies,” 155–74.

(21) This was lucidly observed by Gooding, see e.g. David W. Gooding, “Problems of Text and Midrash in the Third Book of Reigns,” *Textus* 7 (1969): 1–29 (4–5).

(22) See the extensive discussion and bibliographical review in Van Keulen, *Two Versions*, 36–61. Van Keulen follows Gooding in attributing the repetition of 2:8–9 in 2:35^{l-o} to the fact that at some point the end of the Greek version of 1 Kings was moved to 1 Kgs 2:11. After Van Keulen, Darshan also, though for different reasons, argued forcefully for the view that 35^{l-o} have nothing to do with the Miscellanies.

of Misc I, and were not inserted by the same hand. (23) Even if this were true, it would make little difference to the way the miscellanies are inserted in the text of 1 Kgs 2. Whether or not 35^{l-o} was attached to the story of Shimei's execution prior to the insertion of the Miscellanies, the creation of the triptych referred to above is hardly to be attributed to chance. If 35^{l-o} was present in the base text, these verses may have suggested to the author of the Miscellanies the idea of presenting his data as illustrations of Solomon's wisdom. Alternatively, if 35^{l-o} was added together with the rest of Misc I, the author of the Miscellanies himself would have borrowed these verses from 1 Kgs 2:8–9 in order to construct his triptych. In either case, the composition and the insertion of the Miscellanies would be part of one and the same editorial process.

Guy Darshan has argued that the Miscellanies originated as an independent literary unit that was secondarily split into two parts and inserted into the running text of 1 Kgs 2. (24) The observations proposed in the present section tend to contradict this theory. The fact that there are two Miscellanies, with a similar structure, and the way they are woven into the fabric of 1 Kgs 2, show that the present form of the Miscellanies—not only the “final redaction”, but their composition as such—was designed from the start with a view to inserting them where they are in the Greek text of 3 Rgs.

2.3. *The Insertion of the Miscellanies and Other Instances of Revision in 1 Kgs/3 Rgs 2*

As mentioned above, in the MT the command to punish Shimei corresponding to 35^{l-o} comes much earlier in the narrative. It concludes David's deathbed speech in 1 Kgs 2:2–9. Although this speech, the “testament of David”, figures in full in all Greek witnesses, Julio Trebolle Barrera has shown that the oldest stratum of the Septuagint contains traces of a text-form that did not contain this section, going on directly from 1 Kgs 2:1 to 1 Kgs 2:10. Trebolle concludes from this, with many scholars who take little or no account of the Septuagint, that David's testament is a secondary addition. (25)

(23) It is to be admitted that these four verses are of a different nature from the rest of Misc I in that they make up a continuous narrative. Also, their parallel is not found in 1 Kgs 3–11 as in the case of the other contents of the Miscellanies, but in 1 Kgs 2:8–9.

(24) Darshan, “Long Additions,” 5–50.

(25) Julio César Trebolle Barrera, “Testamento y muerte de David: Estudio de historia de la recensión y redacción de I Rey., II,” *RB* 87 (1980): 87–103.

In a recent study, I have argued that Treballe is right on the Old Greek, but not on the textual history of the Hebrew. The testament of David was part of the earliest text form, and its omission in the tradition that issued in the Old Greek, reflects a secondary revision designed to exonerate David. (26) The deathbed speech, particularly if one leaves aside the “deuteronomistic” verses 3 and 4, gives a very negative image of David. This image was not to the liking of a reviser, it seems, who proceeded to omit the whole passage. The contents of the speech were not entirely discarded, however. Notably, the injunction regarding Shimei was relocated just before the story of Shimei’s execution in verses 36–46. (27)

The question arises at this point whether the reviser who omitted David’s testament and the reviser who added the Miscellanies may have been the same. Both interventions are forceful. Their agenda is similar: to promote the honour of the King and the dynasty. The relocation of the command to kill Shimei is common to both: the verses are omitted from 1 Kgs 2:8–9 and incorporated at the end of Misc I. As was shown in the preceding section, the association between the command concerning Shimei and the Miscellanies is not merely formal. David’s words provide the final triptych with its theme, that of Solomon’s wisdom. Perhaps one may even suggest that there is an exegetical component to the redactional process: by taking 1 Kgs 2:8–9 out of David’s speech and setting it between the two Miscellanies, the interpretation of Solomon’s wisdom changes. In the earlier passage, it implied ruthless efficacy without ethical connotations. (28) Lodged between the two Miscellanies, it invites a much more positive interpretation.

The identity of the two revisers is impossible to prove. But close consideration of these facts does make it likely.

A linguistic detail confirms this view. In 2:35l, the command is introduced by a temporal phrase taking us back to the days when David was still alive:

Καὶ ἐν τῷ ἔτι Δαυὶδ ζῆν ἐνετείλατο τῷ Σαλωμῶν λέγων

And while David was still alive, he commanded Salomon, saying

(26) Jan Joosten, “Empirical Evidence and its Limits: The Use of the Septuagint in Retracing the Redaction History of the Hebrew Bible,” in *Insights into Editing in the Hebrew Bible and the Ancient Near East. What Does Documented Evidence Tell Us about the Transmission of Authoritative Texts?* (ed. Reinhard Müller and Juha Pakkala; CBET 84; Leuven: Peeters, 2017), 247–65.

(27) Some of David’s other recommendations may similarly have been relocated in the Hebrew *Vorlage* of the Old Greek, there is no way to know.

(28) A similar use of the adjective wise is found earlier in the Succession History in 2 Sam 13:3, when Jonadab the friend and counsellor of Amnon is qualified as “very wise.”

This can easily be translated into Hebrew as: **ובעוד דוד חי צוה את שלמה לאמר**. What has not been observed so far is that the use of such temporal phrases without introductory **ויהי** is uncommon in the narrative prose of the Succession History, as in Classical BH in general. (29) The normal way to update the reference time of a story is with **ויהי**, as is indeed found in verse 39: **ויהי מקץ שלש שנים**, “and it happened after three years...” The use of a later type of syntax indicates that the Hebrew source text of 2:35l was never part of the original Succession History. Instead, its language aligns with a later idiom, exactly in the same way as was found in the Hebrew underlying 1 Kgs 2:1 in the earlier study referred. (30)

3. The Miscellanies as an Appendix to the Book of Samuel

So far, I have argued that the Miscellanies were collected with a view to adding them to the running text of what is to us 1 Kgs 2, and that their insertion was planned and executed with a degree of sophistication. These conclusions lead on to the hypothesis that the Miscellanies were conceived as a sort of appendix inserted at the end of the book to which they were added. (31)

The demarcation between Samuel and Kings appears to have fluctuated through the ages. The Masoretic Text reflects a break just before the story of Solomon’s final ascent to the throne. The presence of 2 Sam 21–24, which do not belong to the Succession History and disrupt the narrative flow from 1 Sam 20 to 1 Kgs 1, confirms the antiquity of this cut-off point. The Antiochene Text, seconded by Flavius Josephus, reflects a different book division, with Kings (or 3 Reigns) beginning in what is 1 Kgs 2:12 in the MT. (32) The criterion for this approach appears to be David’s death, told in 1 Kgs 2:10–11. At an earlier stage, however, the Book of Samuel must have ended with the

(29) See Jan Joosten, “Diachronic Aspects of Narrative *Wayhi* in Biblical Hebrew,” *JNSL* 35 (2009): 43–61.

(30) The Hebrew reflected in the Antiochene text of 3 Rgs 2:1 finds its closest analogue in Chronicles, see Joosten, “Empirical Evidence,” 247–65.

(31) This hypothesis is not entirely new. It was first proposed by James A. Montgomery, “The Supplement at the End of 3 Kingdoms 2 [1 Reg 2],” *ZAW* 50 (1932): 121–29 (124–25), and adopted by Tov and Darshan. However, all these scholars considered the addition as a purely mechanical move: the Miscellanies were put at the end of 1 Kgs 2 because there were some empty leaves in the manuscript in this place. Those who envisage deliberate insertion opt rather to view the Miscellanies as introductory units, see e.g. Polak, “Septuagintal Account,” 151.

(32) Note also that the *kaige* recension starts here in Codex B and its congeners.

notice of Shimei's execution, i.e., with what is now 1 Kgs 2:46. (33) The Succession History, which is organically linked to preceding literary units in 1 and 2 Samuel, ends here. The final statement, 2:46b in the MT, functions well as a conclusive statement, marking the passage between Solomon's rise and his reign: *וְהַמְּלָכָה נְכוֹנָה בְּיַד־שְׁלֹמֹה*, "And the kingdom was established in the hand of Solomon". For its part, 1 Kgs 3:1 more or less clearly forms the beginning of an independent Book of Kings that must have existed at one time. Dividing Samuel and Kings in the midst of the Succession History, as is done in the MT and the Antiochene Text, must reflect secondary development.

If we envisage a Book of Samuel ending with 1 Kgs 2:46, the present location of the Miscellanies makes good sense. Several other instances exist of additional materials being appended to the end of biblical books. (34) The best analogy to our case is perhaps the appendix in Judg 17–21. The stories in Judg 17–21 fall without the chronology of the preceding chapters. They reveal no traces of the deuteronomistic framework that characterizes Judge 2–16. It is widely admitted that chapters 17–21 were added secondarily to the "deuteronomistic" book of Judges. The chapters are more unified than the Miscellanies, but they do contain materials of various origin. Moreover, they evince a redactional framework that functions somewhat like that of the Miscellanies. On the one hand, the redaction has its own agenda, on the other hand, its intention is manifestly that of preparing the stories for insertion into the deuteronomistic Book of Judges.

Appendices of this kind would be created when literary material regarded as authentic became available after the "final redaction" of a book was concluded. In addition, they may reflect the need to resolve outstanding questions. Both motivations, the archival and the exegetical, may have played a role in the addition of the Miscellanies. The data contained in them may be of various origins, some of them made up, perhaps, but others culled from archives, or popular memory. At the same time, in a book ending with Solomon's installation on the throne, they offer an answer to some obvious questions about his reign: did he live up to expectations? Was he a good king? What achievements did he put to his name?

(33) See Julio C. Trebolle, "Samuel/Kings and Chronicles: Book Divisions and Textual Composition," in *Studies in the Hebrew Bible, Qumran, and the Septuagint Presented to Eugene Ulrich* (ed. James C. VanderKam, Peter W. Flint, and Emanuel Tov; SVT 101; Leiden: Brill, 2006), 96–108 (99 [quoting Martin Noth]).

(34) Notably in the books of Leviticus; Esther; 2 Sam; Joshua; Judges.

The hypothesis proposed here makes good sense. In fact, it makes better sense than any other theory designed to explain the location of the Miscellanies in the Greek text of 3 Kgs. It nevertheless faces two serious hurdles.

Firstly, it requires that a reviser of a “Book of Samuel” ending with Shimei’s execution did not know of any continuation in the Book of Kings. If the reviser knew that the story of Solomon’s reign was developed in detail in a book closely linked to the one he was working on, inserting the Miscellanies in their present position would serve no useful purpose. Even if he had felt it necessary to add some new data he had come across, he would most naturally have inserted them into 1 Kgs 3–11. Only the existence of a separate Book of ending with Solomon’s accession to the throne explains the need to supplement it with data about his reign. Only in such a book could the Miscellanies end up in the place where we find them today. Postulating the existence of such a Book of Samuel is not unreasonable by itself, but it poses grave questions of relative chronology. Some of the materials contained in the Miscellanies are relatively recent, as is shown both by their content and by the linguistic form of their parallels in 1 Kgs. It is hard to imagine that they were composed before the sixth century BCE, and one would be happy to date them rather later than that. The image of Solomon that transpires from the Miscellanies finds its closest analogue in Chronicles. But is it plausible to submit that a Book of Samuel was still circulating separately from any continuation in Kings in, say, the fifth or fourth century?

The chronological problem is exacerbated in face of the second hurdle. As was stated above, a Book of Samuel ending with 2 Sam 20 must be postulated to explain the addition of chapters 21–24. Like Judg 17–21, 2 Sam 21–24 are an appendix secondarily added at the end of the book. (35) In this case, the corresponding book division is attested in MT. If so, how do the Book of Samuel ending with 2 Sam 20 and the Book of Samuel ending with 1 Kgs 2 relate to one another? All known textual witnesses contain 2 Sam 21–24 but only the Greek tradition attests the Miscellanies: the material evidence indicates that the division between Samuel and Kings first fell at 1 Sam 20, and was later, when the “first appendix” had become an uncontested part of the text, moved to the end of 1 Kgs 2. However, consideration of the redaction history suggests the book ending in 1 Kgs 2 must be the older one of the two, as was argued above. More specifically, the book division in 2 Sam 20 could only come about when the continuation of Samuel in

(35) See the commentaries.

Kings was taken for granted. It makes no sense at all to break off an independent Book of Samuel in a way that isolates the finale of the Succession History: after all the grief and conflict, the reader wants to know who finally succeeded to David.

The way around both hurdles is to postulate parallel editions of the Book of Samuel. An early form of the Book of Samuel, ending with 1 Kgs 2 and isolated from any continuation in Kings, may still have been around at a relatively late date. (36) The combination of Samuel and Kings, with a book division after 2 Sam 24 or after 1 Kgs 2:11, may have been known in some circles, while other circles still only had, or recognized, the earlier form. The postulate may seem counter-intuitive, but a similar theory is called for to explain several other phenomena in the historical books. A famous example is the linkage between Joshua and Judges, which appears to have been achieved in very different ways in the MT and in a divergent tradition preserved in the Septuagint. (37) As argued by Alexander Rofé, Josh 24:33a–b attests a connection between Josh 24 and the Book of Judges that left aside all of Judg 1:1–3:11—the problematic chapter Judg 1:1–2:5, the deuteronomistic section in Judg 2:6–3:6, and some other material. In addition to the MT and this alternative text form, literary criticism indicates several other attempts at linking the books of Joshua and Judges to one another. (38) Julio Treballe comments aptly: “All these endings and links can only be explained by supposing multiple editions.” (39)

As in Joshua, the parallel editions in Samuel–Kings would appear to have contaminated one another in later stages of transmission. The Greek manuscripts attest at once the edition with the appendix in 2 Sam 21–24 and the edition with the Miscellanies. Textual conflation is very widespread in the text of Samuel–Kings, particularly in the Greek tradition. (40)

(36) In all logic, such a book of Samuel would not have contained 2 Sam 21–24. Admittedly, no evidence exists for such a textual state.

(37) See Alexander Rofé, “The End of the Book of Joshua according to the Septuagint,” *Henoch* 4 (1982): 17–36. See also Treballe, “Samuel/Kings,” 96–108.

(38) See Ernst Axel Knauf, “Buchschlüsse im Josuabuch,” in *Les dernières rédactions du Pentateuque, de l’Héxateuque et de l’Ennéateuque* (ed. Thomas Römer and Konrad Schmid; BETL 203; Leuven: Peeters, 2007), 217–24; Thomas Römer, “Book-Endings in Joshua and the Question of the So-Called Deuteronomistic History,” in *Raising Up a Faithful Exegete* (ed. Kurt L. Noll and Brooks Schramm; Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2010), 85–99.

(39) Treballe, “Samuel/Kings,” 97.

(40) See Joosten, “Empirical Evidence,” 247–65.

Conclusions

The present essay has focused on the place of the Miscellanies in the redaction history of the books of Samuel–Kings. Text-critical analysis of the Miscellanies and comparison with the parallel verses in 1 Kgs 3–9 will have to wait for a future occasion.

Although the Miscellanies will probably continue to baffle future generations of scholars, our investigation shows that, in important respects, they are not unparalleled. In their capacity as supplementary material inserted at the end of a literary work they are analogous to Judg 17–2, 1 Sam 21–24 and other more distant cases of supplementation (e.g. Lev 27; Deut 31–34; Jos 22–24). By their presence in the Greek tradition and their absence everywhere else, they illustrate the existence of parallel editions of Samuel–Kings, again a phenomenon that has been observed in several other instances, notably the book of Joshua. It is the combination of these two phenomena that has obscured the nature of the Miscellanies and the role they play in the work in which they occur. In fact, the work in which they were intended to play a role no longer exists: it has to be extracted from the Greek and Hebrew materials at our disposal.

The growth of biblical literature is often imagined as a rather irenic process, in which an existing writing goes from hand to hand, being successively supplemented by various groups who do not otherwise alter it in any way. The process adumbrated by the Miscellanies is much more chaotic. Different versions of Samuel and Kings seem to have coexisted and evolved side-by-side, influencing one another only in a late stage of textual transmission.

APPENDIX

Misc I (41)

35^a (4.29) And the Lord gave Salomon discernment and very great wisdom and breadth of mind like the sand which is by the sea, 35^b (4.30) and the discernment of Salomon was greatly multiplied above the discernment of all ancient sons and above all prudent ones of Egypt. 35^c (3.1) And he took the daughter of Pharaoh and brought her into the city of David until he first finished his house and the house of the Lord and the wall of Jerusalem round about; in seven years he made and finished them. 35^d (5.15) And Salomon had seventy thousand bearing a burden and eighty thousand stonecutters in the hill country. 35^e (7.23) And Salomon made the sea and the supports and the great washbasins and the pillars and the fountain of the court and the bronze sea. 35^f And he built the citadel and its defenses, and he cut through the city of

(41) The English translation is that of NETS.

Dauid; (9.24) thus Pharaos daughter used to go up from the city of Dauid to her house which he built for her. Then he built the citadel. 35^g (9.25) And Salomon would offer up in the year three whole burnt offerings and peace offerings on the altar that he built for the Lord and would burn incense before the Lord. And he finished the house. 35^h (9.23) And these are the chief officers who were appointed over the works of Salomon: (5.16) three thousand six hundred overseers of the people who did the works. 35ⁱ And he built Assour and Magdo and Gazer and Upper Baithoron and Baalath; 35^k only after he built the house of the Lord and the wall of Ierousalem round about, after these he built these cities.

35^l And while Dauid was still alive, he commanded Salomon, saying, (2.8) "Behold, with you is Semei son of Gera, son of the offspring of the Iemini, from Chebron; 35^m he cursed me with a painful curse on the day I was going into Camps, 35ⁿ and he would come down to meet me at the Jordan, and I swore to him by the Lord, saying: If he will be put to death with a sword... ! 35^o (2.9) And now do not hold him guiltless, for you are a prudent man, and you will know what you shall do to him, and you shall bring his gray head down with blood to Hades."

Misc II

46a And King Salomon was very prudent and wise, (4.20) and Ioudas and Israel were very many as the sand which is by the sea in great number, eating and drinking and being happy, 46b and Salomon was chief among all the kingdoms, and they were bringing gifts, and they were subject to Salomon all the days of his life. 46c And Salomon began to open the resources of Lebanon, 46d and he built Thermai in the wilderness. 46e And this was (4.22) the midday meal for Salomon: thirty korsa of choice flour and sixty korsa of ground meal, (4.23) ten choice calves and twenty pasture-fed oxen and one hundred sheep, besides deer and gazelles and choice fattened birds. 46f (4.24) For he was chief everywhere across the river from Raphi to Gaza, among all the kings across the river, 46g and he had peace on all his sides round about, (4.25) and Ioudas and Israel lived in confidence, each under his vine and under his fig tree, eating and drinking, from Dan and as far as Bersabee, all the days of Salomon. [And there was no satan at the days of Sololomon] (42) 46h And these were the officials of Salomon: Azariou son of Sadok the priest and Orniou son of Nathan chief of those in charge and Edram, over his house, and Souba, scribe, and Basa son of Achithalam, recorder, and Abi son of Ioab, commander-in-chief, and Achire son of Edrai over the levies and Banaia son of Iodae over the main court and over the brickworks and Zachour son of Nathan, the counselor. 46i (4.26) And Salomon had forty thousand brood mares for chariots and twelve thousand horsemen. 46k (4.21) And he was chief among all the kings from the river and as far as the land of allophytes and to the borders of Egypt.

Jan JOOSTEN
University of Oxford

(42) The words in brackets occur only in the Antiochene text. They may have fallen out due to homoioteleuton.